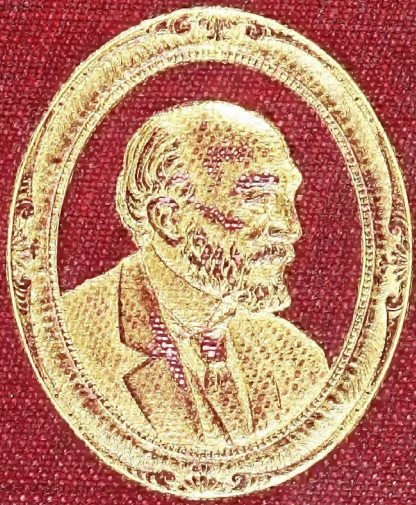

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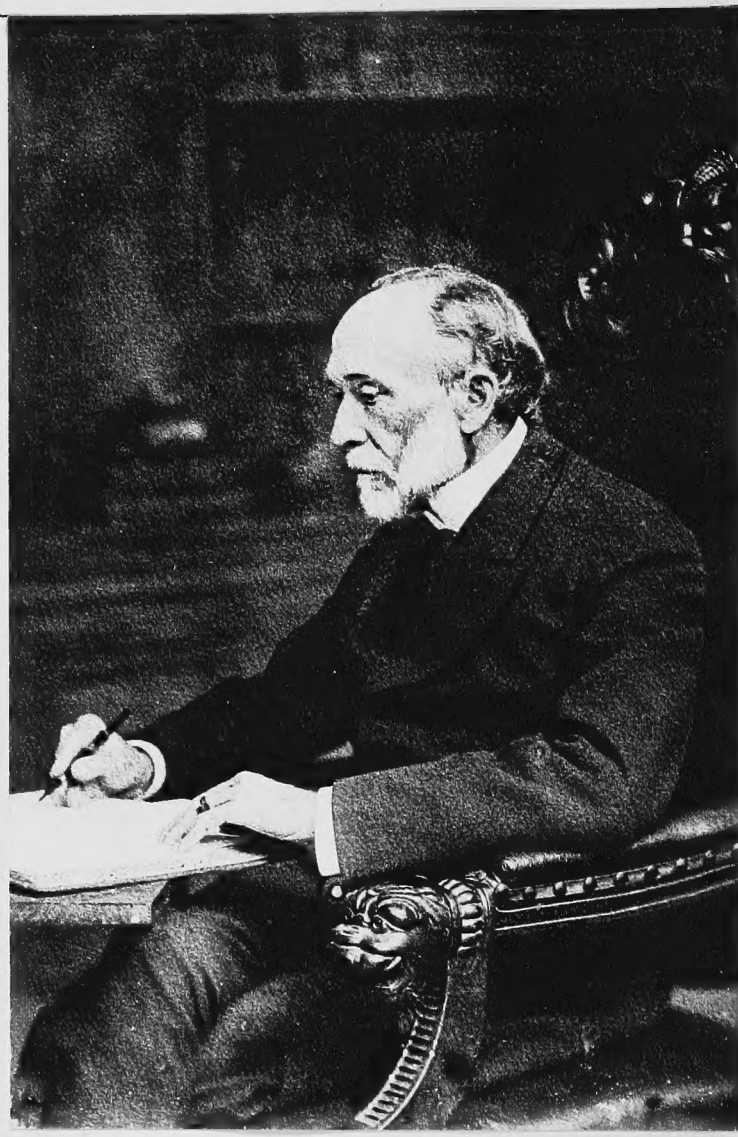

THOMAS COLLIER PLATT

The Autobiography
OF
Thomas Collier Platt

With Twenty Portraits
in Sepia Photogravure

COMPILED AND EDITED

BY

LOUIS J. LANG

WITH ADDENDA

NEW YORK
B. W. DODGE & COMPANY
1910

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PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

DEDICATED TO MY

"OLD GUARD"

August 2, 1909.

To Whom it May Concern:

I hereby certify that this book of memoirs is compiled and edited by Mr. Louis J. Lang, with my consent and approval, and I grant to him the exclusive right to arrange for its publication.

Very truly yours,

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INTRODUCTION

In presenting, at the request of members of my Old Guard, memoirs of a life now within striking distance of its eightieth year, I am reminded that Alexander Hamilton once wrote George Washington:

"No man has ever written a true biography of himself, but that he was apt to blame himself excessively, or to be too prone to self-defense. An autobiography is written either from vanity to present a man favorably to posterity, or because he desires, for his own pleasure, in the study of himself, to recall the events of his career."

I do not intend to blame myself excessively. Nor am I inclined to a general defense of public acts. I make no confession of vanity. Neither do I make any apologies. During the greater portion of fifty-three years spent in the political arena, I have been the target for many arrows. My words and deeds have often been either ignorantly or maliciously misunderstood and misconstrued. At times my very life has been threatened by those who preferred to take snap judgment, rather than inquire what actually inspired me in the promotion of the principles of a party

which, I am proud to say, I helped in an humble way to found.

That which is set down in the forthcoming pages comprises incontrovertible facts, easily corroborated by my associates, many of whom, like myself, were sponsors at the birth and the christening of the Republican party. They have stood shoulder to shoulder with me, fighting its battles, neither asking nor giving quarter.

Starting as a warbler of campaign songs for Fremont in 1856, I have, through the suffrages of the people, been elected to high offices I never sought. The party for over a score of years recognized me as its leader in the Empire State—a commonwealth containing three times the population of the American colonies when they rebelled against the tyranny of King George.

Twice chosen to the House of Representatives against my personal wishes; thrice elected United States Senator from this imperial State; maintained in the party leadership until, because of physical infirmities, I was compelled to release the reins to a younger and more virile lieutenant—honors from my own State should adequately answer calumnies which have been incessantly hurled at me.

To one charge I plead guilty. I did contribute toward transforming a once Democratic State into an impregnable Republican stronghold. To another charge, General James S. Clarkson, former Chairman of the Republican National Com-

mittee, replies that I saved the election of three Republican Presidents. They were James A. Garfield, Benjamin Harrison and William McKinley.

I have rejoiced in the personal and political confidence of Presidents Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant, Chester A. Arthur, William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. I have been most happy in the company of such Stalwarts as Roscoe Conkling, Matthew S. Quay, James S. Clarkson, Thomas B. Reed, Charles W. Fairbanks, William B. Allison, Russell A. Alger, Joseph H. Manley, Garret A. Hobart and Samuel Fessenden. With such intrepid comrades I have fought successfully for an honest dollar-for-dollar currency, a protective tariff, and other great and vital issues which the people have so overwhelmingly endorsed that during the period since the Republican party came into being it has won eleven of the fourteen national contests.

As a member of the rank and file, and then as chief of the Republican organization, I have aided in giving to New York State ten of the eighteen governors elected since the Republican party wore swaddling clothes. I was a worker in the infant State organization when Edwin D. Morgan, who distinguished himself as the Civil War governor, was chosen the first Republican chief magistrate; when Reuben E. Fenton supplanted Horatio Seymour, and was at the front when John A. Dix, of "Shoot-him-on-the-spot" celebrity, entered the

executive chamber at Albany. I was the stanch supporter of Alonzo B. Cornell. I was the political godfather of Governors Levi P. Morton, Frank S. Black, Theodore Roosevelt and Benjamin B. Odell, Jr. I also was influential in securing to the people Republican Legislatures continuously, with two exceptions, from 1883 to the present day.

Were I asked why I became a Republican I might reply that I could not be a Democrat. Early in life I became a believer in the Hamiltonian theory of politics. From that time I have held consistently to the doctrine of government by party, and rule of the party by the regular organization.

I have been accused of squaring principles to the rule of the party, rather than squaring party rule to principles. My friend, St. Clair McKelway, has written: "Mr. Platt looks upon principles as something to help the party to obtain and retain power, rather than upon party as something organized to advance and enforce principles."

I am much impressed with Dr. McKelway's perspicacity. Ever have I been the implacable foe of hypocritical and fraudulent shams, perpetrated and perpetuated by professional civil service reformers. From the outset I have contended that a party intrusted by the people with the control of the government is responsible for that government, and is entitled to man the offi-

ces with fit representatives of that party. If the people lose faith in that party they will surely drive it from power. I have experienced intense personal delight in driving out of the party the guerillas, jay-hawkers and sycophants who have tried to shoot it to death from ambush and who have courted favor by mean adulation.

Invariably has the party and the organization been strengthened by the casting out of such characters.

I drifted into politics—just drifted. I drifted into Congress. I also drifted into the party leadership, as I drifted out. Never was I ambitious for place. There came a time when political friends simply patted me on the back and called me leader. Apparently I had done something that endeared me to them and a majority of the Republican party. This was their manner of recognizing it.

Let me observe right here that no leader can exist any longer than his party desires him. And no party can last longer than a majority of the people wish. I became leader because night and day I sought to ascertain public sentiment and get abreast of it. By personal contact and by correspondence, averaging at some periods five hundred letters daily, I learned what the people wanted. Then I did my best to give it to them. Thus I made myself acquainted with the thought of the masses upon the great national questions of abolition of slavery, the reconstruction act,

currency, tariff and other propositions. Thus I discovered their preferences for President, for U. S. Senators and members of the House of Representatives. Thus I familiarized myself with their views about excise, ballot and municipal reform, the creation of the Greater New York, and other projects which have agitated the State since I entered upon my career. In this way, too, I found it easy to gain my knowledge as to who was most available and likeliest to be elected for Governor, other State offices, members of the Legislature and municipal places. In choosing my subordinates I took pains to select only such as knew voters in their home districts almost as well as the members of their immediate families.

The popular idea that in order to be a successful political leader, or a boss, one must possess ability to pull strings while puppets dance, is most absurd. It is not necessary to equip one's self with strings. Nor is it essential to make any persons dance. Conduct a political organization as a general commands an army, or the head of a great business concern conducts its affairs, and you have solved the problem. Political leaders are born. Few who aspire to leadership attain it. Without the full confidence of his followers the leader's power dies.

Let me impress upon those who seek political honors that they must first be honest. Then they must be faithful to the last blood-drop to their friends, diplomatic about making new ones, grate-

ful and quick to reward service, regard a promise as sacred, fulfil it at the earliest possible opportunity. Above all, they should march abreast of the people and strive to procure for them what they demand.

T. C. Platt

The Autobiography of Thomas Collier Platt

CHAPTER I

1833-1853

How my father sought to make me a preacher—I become a pill doctor instead—I take a wife, helpmeet and adviser.

My original ancestor, Richard Platt, came across the sea in 1638. He settled in New Milford, Connecticut. My great-grandfather, and his father, were soldiers in the American Revolutionary army. The former was captain in the Fourth Regiment of the line. He is mentioned in Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution as one of the "distinguished patriots who constituted the Committee of Safety at White Plains in 1776." A year before he represented New York in the Provincial Congress. My father, William Platt, was a lawyer, long in practice at Owego, N. Y. My mother was Lesbia Hinchman, whose ancestors hailed from Jamaica, L. I. The male members of her family were soldiers of the Revolutionary and Colonial wars.

Such was my lineage.

I was born at Owego, July 15, 1833. I was

the youngest of five sons. My brothers were William Hinchman, Frederick Edward, Edward, and Humphrey. There were four sisters: Stella Avery, Susan Calhoun, Emily Elizabeth, and Anna. But one of the eight is living. She is Mrs. Emily Elizabeth Skinner, of Owego.

My father had Puritanical ideas. He was a blue-blooded Presbyterian, and sought to bring up his children in that faith. Early in my boyhood, father informed me that I must prepare for the ministry. As a preliminary education, I was compelled to attend family prayers daily; go to church at least twice and maybe three times, and to school once on Sunday. My Sabbath Day recreation—the only one allowed me—was the rather gruesome habit of walking in the village cemetery.

So firmly was my father's mind made up that I should become a preacher, that each Sunday he invited a clergyman or two to dine with us. While partaking of food cooked on Saturday—for father would permit the serving of nothing hot except tea and coffee on the Sabbath Day—our clerical guests endeavored to convince me of the attractiveness of their calling.

I was not at all favorably impressed. I might have been had I not been forced to listen to them.

AT YALE

After a rudimentary course at the Owego Academy I entered Yale College. I was sixteen

years old. My father's purpose was, that after securing the degree of Bachelor of Arts I should go after that of Doctor of Divinity. Ere my curriculum ended I was constrained, because of ill health, to leave the institution. I had hoped to graduate with the class of 1853. Though unable to finish and get my sheepskin, I managed to win a prize for Latin translation, attested by President Woolsey. Twenty-three years later there was bestowed upon me the honorary degree of Master of Arts.

Returning home, I sought first to mend my shattered health. By rowing, swimming across the Susquehanna, playing the old-fashioned game of patch baseball, and other outdoor sports, I succeeded so well, that my father renewed his arguments that I go back to Yale and study for the ministry. The suggestion was so distasteful that I pleaded for a chance to go into business.

A DRUGGIST

For years I had nursed the longing to become a druggist. Very reluctantly father consented to my learning to put up prescriptions. I went behind the counter of a small local drug store, and gradually acquainted myself with the secret of compounding pills. Ultimately I saved enough money to make part payment on the purchase of a drug establishment, and proudly hoisted my own sign along with a young friend, Frederic K.

Hull. With a few hundred dollars in my pocket, I married Ellen Lucy Barstow, of Owego, December 12, 1852.

WIFE, HELPMEET, ADVISER

If ever a man was blessed in a wife, it was I. To her I owe much of whatever has made for success and uplift during the subsequent years. Mrs. Platt was a woman in whose splendid loyal nature was combined a fine discrimination, keen intuition, and cool-headed judgment which never failed me at any crisis or exigency during the almost half century we traveled the road of life together. Her counsel, sagacious always, came to my aid in matters of politics, and (for I used to make her my confidante in the things which were vital to any and all my interests) I invariably found it unerring. It was never the expedient with her. It was the same conservative judgment of a woman of deep convictions and unflinching character. She would stoop to no mean thing. Right was always right to Ellen Platt.

In the tenderer relations, as mother, homekeeper, I look back upon her with the finest emotions that can possess a man; for no woman was more loyal or devoted to her family than she. She was at her best when her hair had grown gray, the strong and once smooth forehead had become seamed, the bloom of the cheeks had faded away. She never lost her youth of mind and heart though Time had implanted upon her fea-

MRS. THOMAS C. PLATT

tures its outward signs. She lived again in her children and children's children.

Three sons were born to us: Edward T., now superintendent of the U. S. Express Company; Frank H., a successful New York lawyer for a score of years; and Harry B., superintendent of the money order department of the U. S. Express Company, and vice-president of the Fidelity and Deposit Company of Maryland. From the beginning of my career, until death robbed me of her, February 13, 1901, Mrs. Platt was constantly at my elbow. When in the early eighties we removed from Owego to New York, she fitted up for me a home-like suite of rooms at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. Night after night, while we wicked politicians connived for the public good, Mrs. Platt worked at her embroidery. Now and then she would drop a word of sage advice to me. She probably knew more about political secrets and methods than any woman of her day in the East. But she never "peached" on us.

CHAPTER II

1853-1860

I start out as a political troubadour—Sing for Fremont—Mix a country clerk's duties with fashioning sketches of drugs I sell—As magazine editor I write verse for old folks and stories for children—Some of the bucolics and tales I inflicted upon Tioga Darbys and Joans.

EARLY in 1853 the nation was in the throes of the slavery controversy. I became an intense abolitionist. I observed with bated breath the union of Abraham Lincoln, William H. Seward, Horace Greeley and John Sherman, Republicans; Henry Wilson, Henry Winter Davis and Ben Wade, Know Nothings; Hannibal Hamilton, Lyman Trumbull and Frank Blair, Democrats; Charles Sumner and Salmon P. Chase, Free Soilers; and Giddings, Garrison, Phillips and the Lovejoys, Abolitionists, to create a new party. That party was and is known to-day as the Republican party. It was formed for the final effacement of human slavery from the American continent.

While at the drug counter I studied assiduously the speeches and acts of Thurlow Weed, William H. Seward and Horace Greeley, about whom the

New York State Whigs and "Conscientious Democrats" rallied, and longed to be in their confidence. In this I was not satisfied. But later I did possess that of their heirs, Hugh Hastings, Reuben E. Fenton and Roscoe Conkling.

AS CAMPAIGN WARBLER

I was not an orator. But I could sing some. At least I managed to master the tenor score of sacred music in the old Presbyterian church in Owego. So, when John C. Fremont was named as the first candidate of the Republican party in 1856 for the Presidency, I concluded that I could help a little by warbling campaign ditties. I also made some attempts at composing the words and airs to the melodies. A number of us boys formed a glee club. My heart still thumps when I recall how nightly we used to clamber aboard hay-ricks, carry-alls, or any other available vehicle, and whirl about the counties of Tioga and Tompkins, chanting the virtues of the Pathfinder and urging upon the people in canticles and verse why he ought to be President of the United States.

My first aide was Charles A. Munger, a school-day chum. He developed rare ability in getting up musical campaign contributions. My ears still ring with the tunes and words composed by him. They contained satires upon Democrats, and eulogies of the pioneer who led the initial fight waged by the Republican party.

I was a rather gaunt, rangy fellow. A picturesque figure I made, some said, as, armed with tuning-fork, I beat time, while my comrades ground out political ballads.

A favorite with us was the "Rallying Song." It was arranged to the air of the "Marseillaise." It ran like this:

Behold the storm is rolling,
  Which Border fiends, Confederates raise.
The Dogs of War, let loose, are howling,
  And lo! our infinite cities blaze.
And shall we calmly view the ruin
  While lawless force, with giant stride,
  Spreads desolation far and wide,
Its guilty blood its hands embruing?

Chorus:

Arise, arise, ye brave,
  And let our war cry be,
Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Free Men,
  Fremont and Victory!

Another that our little band of political troubadours used to delight in reeling off was entitled "We All Give Them Jesse!" It was Sung to the air "Wait for the Wagon." A verse from it reads:

Ye friends of Freedom, rally now,
  And push the cause along.
We have a glorious candidate,
  A platform broad and strong.
Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Fremont!
  We have no fears,

With such a battle cry
  We'll beat the Bu-chan-iers!
We'll give them Jesse,
We'll give them Jesse,
We'll give them Jesse,
When we rally to the polls.

"The Fremont Train" was set to the tune of "Old Dan Tucker." A sample verse was like this:

The Fremont train has gone along,
  Just jump aboard. The train
  Is bound for Washington,
And it carries Fremont's foes of wrong,
  Our bravest son.
Clear the track, Filibusters,
Now's no time for threats or blusters.
Clear the track, or ere you dream on it,
You'll be beneath the car of Fremont.

"The White House Race" was sung to the air "Camptown Races." It always made a hit. Buchanan, the Democratic candidate for President, was labeled "The Old Gray," while Fremont was the "Mustang Colt." The words of the ditty were:

There's an old Gray Horse, whose name is Buck,
  The Mustang Colt is young and strong.
    Du da, de da.
His dam was Folly, and his sire Bad Luck,
    De da, du da da.

Chorus:

We're bound to work all night,
  We're bound to work all day;
I'll bet my money on the Mustang Colt,
  Will anybody bet on the Gray?

MY FIRST OFFICE

Our singing did not, however, produce enough votes to elect Fremont. James Buchanan, Democrat, defeated him, much to our grief. But we kept up our glee club, and two years after we sang Edwin D. Morgan, the great war governor, into the executive chamber at Albany. A year later, the Republicans of my county nominated me for county clerk. I was elected and served three years. I declined a renomination, having been elected president of the Tioga County National Bank, and having, in addition to forming a partnership in the drug firm, become much interested in the development of the lumber district in Michigan.

Then I gladly retired from office, and went back into the business of compounding pills.

WRITER OF ADVERTISEMENTS

Let me break into the chronological narrative here to observe that I have been reminded since beginning these recollections that I long ago mistook my vocation. Friends who have been perusing my scrap books have suggested that I never should have been a druggist; that I committed an egregious blunder in entering politics, and should have become either a journalist, magazine writer, or an advertising agent. They had in mind certain literary offenses which I managed to dash off

when not engaged in preparing prescriptions of a medical character. My partner in the drug business knew more about that than I did. But he insisted that I must hold myself responsible for making it known that we were on earth. I did the best I could by writing each week for the local newspapers a few words which I hoped would apprise the public that we wished their patronage. Some of the advertisements contained evidence that I was watching the political kaleidoscope very intently. The following will demonstrate this:

The Popular
TICKET
for 1868

FOR PRESIDENT
THOMAS C. PLATT

FOR VICE-PRESIDENT
FREDERIC K. HULL

OUR RECORD

Radicalism—Doctors all agree that we are senna. We have sold all kinds of roots these twelve years, and beg leave to assert that no pennyroyal conservation contracts our powers, nor infinitesimal pill of fogyism pollutes our physical system. Our stock of chemicals, Drugs, Extracts, Powders, Trusses, Tinctures, Wines and

Liquors, is not excelled in Europe, Africa or New Jersey. Our medicines are famous for producing radical cures.

Reconstruction—We and Congress are a unit. Witness the fact that we yet sell fresh Congress Water, Rye Whisky, and other mild medicinal liquids that Congress drinks and taxes; also Congress Blacking and Congress Fool's-cap Paper. The Portfolio of a Foreign Minister, or any other Minister's wife, can be reconstructed at our store with as choice a supply of Papers, Envelopes, Diaries, Blank Books, Pocket Cutlery and Stationery as ever Uncle Sam thrust upon a modest Congressman.

Russia—Ice is a safer king than cotton. We regret that this Ice-creamery of the nation (Alaska) was not annexed before the war. It might have kept the "Southern heart" from getting "fired." We will protect these newly adopted citizens and their icebergs from foreign invasion, if it takes our last mortar and squirt-gun. Our policy is clearly Russian, and we expect to do a Rushin' business in Snuffs, Segars, Perfumery, Bird-cages, Soaps and Notions.

Repudiation—Johnson, of White House notoriety, ignores the black man and repudiates his Bureau. If we were Cabinet-makers, we would furnish at least a Bureau drawer for every "shade" of the South. Variety charms and skins should not all be white any more than houses. We fully recognize Southern independence of

character in their early efforts to modify and improve the hues of the human-hide divine. Our own colored Bureau reveals rare specimens of Artists' Colors, Family Dyes, Cosmetiques, Complexion Beautifiers, Hair Oils, etc.

Suffrage—There should be a ballot box in every American family, just as much as Paregoric and the Bible; and the elective franchise should be exercised twice a day by all, regardless of sex, age or color, squaws, squallers and (s) quadroons, provided they first take an iron-bound oath to support U.S., and to vote unanimously to patronize no other shop for Paints, Oils, Window Glass, Varnishes, Putty, Glue, Brushes, Lamps, Confectionery, etc.

CORNER DRUG STORE, August 1, 1867.

During the war I used to watch very carefully for news of President Lincoln's levies of troops and the orders given by Scott, Halleck, McClellan, Grant and the other army commanders, from time to time. They gave me many ideas for advertising our business. Here are some of them:

UNION FOREVER!

The Corner Drug Store
PLATT & HULL
Owego, N. Y.

Headquarters, Cor. Lake and Front Streets. Just South of new Post-office

Order No. 1.

Every male and female Physician, Surgeon, Nurse or Patient of Tioga County, is hereby ordered to appear when convenient and necessary at the Headquarters aforesaid, to buy their Pure Drugs, Medicines and Chemicals; Allopathic, Homeopathic, Botanic—warranted pure—bought and dispensed by experienced Druggists. Also Wines, Brandies, Gins, Scotch Ale, London Porter, and other Liquors, selected expressly for medical use.

Order No. 2.

A new levy of 300,000 or less sound and patriotic customers is demanded to reduce our immense stock of Paints, Oils, Window Glass, Putty, Glues, Varnishes, Alcohol, Turpentine, Kerosene, Gold Leaf, Bath Brick, Tar, Plaster Paris and Potash. Paints mixed any color; glass cut any size.

Order No. 3.

The Vigilance Committee and our quota of union-loving ladies are commanded to volunteer in examining our rich and varied assortment of Letter and Note Papers, Envelopes, Pens, Slates, Blank Books, Inks, Pencils, Writing Books, Mucilage and general Stationery.

Order No. 4.

All male citizens between the ages of five and

ninety-five must hold themselves subject to a draft —on the pocket—for their supplies of Perfumery, Choice Confectionery, Bird Cages, Fine Pocket Cutlery, Hair Dyes and Oils, Brushes, Combs, Trusses and Shoulder-braces, best Snuffs and Tobaccos, Fine Segars and Flavor.

Order No. 5.

Prepare to Dye—by procuring our free list of receipts for dyeing, and then purchase of us good and reliable dye woods, Dye Stuffs, Indigo, Cochineal, Cudbear, Cream Tartar, Annatto, Pink Saucers, Acids and Chemicals of every sort.

Order No. 6.

Platt and Hull expect every American citizen to do as he pleases; but as the Fall campaign opens, they will rejoice to see new customers, as well as old, "falling in," and enlisting to down the rebellion and General High Prices. Our policy is defined. We shall not refuse postage stamps, even from contrabands. Captain Strict Attention and Lieutenant Uniform Politeness are on our staff. Old Low Prices is still our Quartermaster in Owego at the Corner Drug Store. You can buy there:

Paints, Oils, Varnishes, Putty, Glue,
Knives, Razors, Brushes, Blank Books, too,
Glass for Mirrors, Windows, Fixtures,
Kerosene and Patent Mixtures,
Lamps, Candles, Spices, Shoulder Braces,

Nurse Bottles, Nipples, Picture Cases,
Tube-Paints, Segars and Pocket Books.
Enough for the present,
Yours,
JONATHAN SNOOKS.

Here are some quips at the expense of Andrew Jackson, which we employed to sell drugs:

VETOES

Andrew Johnson vetoed the bill which declared the people had not the civil right to buy Genuine English Lead, and Linseed Oil, Pure French Zink, Mixed Paints, of every hue, honest Varnishes, Glues, Plaster Paris, Dryers, Putty, and Paints and Oils of every description, the cheapest and best at

PLATT AND HULL'S.

Andrew Johnson vetoed the bill forbidding physicians and patients buying pure Drugs, Pettigrove's Honest Whisky, Native Isabella and Catawba Wines, Blackberry Brandy, Old Scotch Ale, Congress Water, Rubber Syringes, and all Popular Medicines, at the Corner Drug Store of

PLATT AND HULL.

Andrew Johnson vetoed the bill taxing all ladies who should buy Bed-Bug Poison, Night Blooming Cereus, Sewing Machine Oil, best Fruit Jars,

Potash, Rouge, Whale Oil Soap, Family Dyes, Hair Colorings, Artists' Paints, Razors, Cards and Cigars, at the Corner Drug Store of

PLATT AND HULL.

Andrew Johnson vetoed the bill disfranchising farmers of Tioga County who insisted they could buy the most reliable Carrot and Turnip Seeds, Mowing Machines, and Harness Oils, Kerosene, Glass for Windows, Hotbeds, Mirrors, Pictures, Lanterns and Bee Hives, all shapes and sizes; cheapest at the Drug Store of

PLATT AND HULL.

Andrew Johnson vetoed the bill compelling colored men to buy French and "Fantasie" Note Paper and Envelopes, rare Perfumeries, unique Ink Stands, splendid Portfolios and Photograph Albums, elegant Dressing Cases, Female Supporters, Sperm Candles and Shoe Blacking at the Drug Store of

PLATT AND HULL.

Andrew Johnson vetoed the bill allowing horses and cattle to vote that the Great Yankee Powder was Constitutional; being the best medicine for horses and cattle extant, warranted to improve the appetite of horses and increase the milk of cows; put up in one-pound papers by

PLATT AND HULL.

I was a great admirer of Senator Charles Sumner, and cribbed from his sayings now and then to attract people to our shop. I also used Charles Dickens, Charles Pertiller, the African Hostler, and Charles Lewis, the "House of Representatives Bootblack," whom I describe later, to bring trade. Here are samples:

Quaint Quotations, with Original Notes, by Platt and Hull

CHARLES SUMNER

The great American Statesman is reported to have proclaimed on the floor of the U. S. Hotel:—"That the late earthquake did not come by the way of St. Thomas and Auburn Underground Railway, but was simply the expiring agonies of the irrepressible conflict." Be it as it may, the quaking recently experienced at the Corner Drug Store was the result of a sudden decline in prices. Low-Belia fell and knocked over High Drargyrum, who tumbled against Asa-Fœtida and tripped up Sal-Nitre. Elder Flowers had got high with Old R. Whisky, and both toppled over on to Alex-Senna and Bald Sam Copaiba. Sarsy Parilla and Perry-Goric tried hard to keep up, as did the veteran Col. O'Cynth, inspired by the upward movement of Al. Coe Hall, but were forced

to succumb, carrying all before them. Physicians, Poets, Preachers, Publicans and Sinners are invited to call and view the ruins.

CHARLES DICKENS

The renowned English author, in Pickwick Papers, makes the elder Weller say, "I've done it once too often, Sammy. Take example by your father and beware of widders all your life." Mrs. Partington would characterize that as a *vial calomel* on the sisterhood of lone, lorn widders. Platt and Hull make no distinctions. Our motto is: Fair dealings with the fair sex, and no questions as to age or condition. Maids, matrons and widows are alike welcome to our hospita(b)le stores, and can see our Albums, Diaries, Stationery and Notions, smell our Perfumes, Soaps, Snuffs and Pomades, taste our Teas, Wines, Candies and Spices, and try our Indigo, Dye Colors, Potash and Lamps.

CHARLES PERTILLER

The able African Hostler, in his famous fifth of July oration, feelingly observed: "De Corn-stitution is de bull-work of our libertines." Doubtless the Corn-stitution, so classically defined, was the same which Moses the II (in his big circular swing) spoke about "leaving in the hands of the people," but forgot and drank it all up himself,

so as to keep his mortification from striking in. Trust an honorable hostler before a traitor tailor. Pertiller was sound. He believed in the Great Yankee Powder for the Constitution of horses and cattle, and made it a rule to buy his Segars, Syringes, Chamois Skins, Razor Strops, Trusses, Tar, Thermometers, Hair and Horse Brushes, Bird Cages, Neatsfoot Oil, Blank Books, Combs and Cosmetics at the Corner Drug Store.

CHARLES LEWIS

The illustrious Caucasian Boot Black, on the floor of the House of Representative Druggists (Platt & Hull), on his knees, thoughtfully polishing a pair of consumptive cowhide boots, uttered that memorable sentiment, "Let no traitor write my epitaph—simply carve upon my headstone 'He voted for Abraham Lincoln.' " Many wiser dead men "still live" on smaller capital of sentiment than that. Another evidence of this simple soul's sagacity is the fact that he advises all the world and his wife to purchase Paints, Oils, Glues, Varnishes, Window Glass, Pocket Books, Patent Medicines, Feather Dusters, Liquors, etc., etc., at the Corner Drug Store. Learn wisdom from Lewis.

Owego, January 1, 1868.

Under the head of "Contraband Correspondence," I indited such missives as these:

Candor, November 1, 1864.

RESPECTED WIDOW:

Your grateful expressions of regard for my successful treatment of your case are received. Of course the physician's skill is unavailing without pure and reliable remedies. Such medicines it has been my invariable fortune to purchase for the last ten years at the Drug Store of Platt & Hull. Their skill in selection of Drugs, Chemicals, Wines and Liquors, and their care in compounding, have passed into a proverb. Go nowhere else for your supplies.

Faithfully yours,
ALEX. SENNA, M.D.

Apalachin, November 16, 1864.

DEAR SISTER MEHITABLE:

I take my pen in hand to inform you that my nerves is all strong and hope these few lines will find you enjoying the same blessin. What on airth is the world a-comin to? When I was a gal, we didn't have no Salfurino, Mygentle and sich fancy Dye Stuffs as they now sell by the cartload at the Corner Pothecary Shop. These war times is dredful. God's free Cordial has had to sukum to Mrs. Winslow's Soothin Syrup. Nothin's so good as it used to be, savin, p'raps, Platt & Hull's Snuff, Indigo, Madder, Potash and Paddegoric. You had orter see the Widder Wiggins. She bought some famous Hair Rectifyer and Cheek Beautifier at Platt & Hull's, and now they say is

goin again into the holy bonds of Wedlock. Hadn't we better go and do likewise?

Your Sufferin Sister,

CHARITY JENKINS.

Berkshire, Thanksgiving Day, 1864.

MY DEAREST MOLLIE:

I have been to Owego, and what would Owego be without Platt & Hull? I wanted to buy a Diary and lay in a little supply of Paper, Envelopes and other Stationery, and you know how they keep such a splendid assortment. A sight of their lovely Perfumery, Pomades and Toilet Soaps, and my empty purse made me almost wild, and when I came to behold those stacks of superb photograph Albums, I became perfectly insane. I never was so tempted to steal. When you go to Owego, Christmas, New Year's, Fourth of July, Fair time, or any other time, don't forget that Platt & Hull's is the place for Knickknacks, Notions and nice things.

Fondly as ever,

JULIA.

The New York *Tribune* published a long story about a sea serpent.

Almost simultaneously the Owego New Drug Store was established as a rival of ours. I sat down and wrote a piece about the new concern. I told readers of the "Stocking," which I later

describe, that the firm across the street purposed to advertise in this way:

"Just received by ship *Monongahela,* Captain Seabury, four cases pure Sea Serpent Oil, a most excellent remedy for coughs, colds, consumption and liver complaints. Its virtues as a pectoral have long been known to the South Sea Islanders, New Zealanders, Chaldean Shepherds and ancient Ninevites. For sale at the Owego New Drug Store. Price $4."

The lampoon was taken seriously by some for a day or two. Farmers and townsmen flocked to the new store, demanding bottles of the supposed cure for all maladies. When they discovered that no such remedy was in existence, they got mad and practically boycotted the "pill shop" that had set up against us.

LITERARY DIVERSIONS—EDITOR AND POET

While poets and song-writers may dabble in politics, few politicians dabble in poetry, musical composition or other literary pursuits.

There are, however, exceptions to all rules, and I have been one of the exceptions. I have already related how I patched together some campaign ditties and advertisements. But my offenses as an aspirant for editorial and poetical honors have yet to be chronicled.

I made my début as an editor, conducting the humorous and critical department of the *St.*

Nicholas Magazine, at my home in Owego, in April, 1853. The whole town was interested in the publication. Having developed some ability as a writer at Yale, I was impressed into the service. To me was assigned charge of a department known as "Our Stocking."

As one of the editors of *St. Nicholas,* it was my duty at times to criticize new books. Ticknors sent to *St. Nicholas,* from Boston, a volume of Stoddard's poems, probably the first. To them I paid my attention in these words:

"Mr. Stoddard has mistaken his vocation. His verse is full of echoes, reminding the reader of the sensuous Keats, the fanciful Shelley, the picturesque Tennyson, etc. The Minstrel of the North has not escaped from these miscellaneous thefts. Instead of clutching in the dark at the hem of Shakspere's consecrated robe, let him 'hold the even tenor of his way' in the obscure path that nature and the gods have worked out for him."

One of my first efforts was an invitation for children, and grown folks, too, to send in anecdotes and gossip. "For an hour of fun alive, give us the company of bright children," I wrote. There were very many bright misses and masters in Owego. They contributed some of the cleverest stories I ever read. I recall that a sweet little friend of mine recited how she for the first time attended church. When she saw the rector in his white robe she must have been greatly impressed.

I asked her to tell me of her experience. She answered naively: "Yes, Mr. Platt, I saw God—and He had His nightgown on."

That story went into "Our Stocking," and was copied the country over.

As I have said, I had engaged in the drug business, and almost daily opportunity offered itself to weave into a yarn amusing incidents in which I figured or which passed under my observation.

Owego had gone dry on the liquor question. One day a customer from the backwoods came in and asked me:

"Do you keep shot?"

"No. Only half-shot, these no-license times," was my answer.

The tale spread about town, and within a few days several contributors to the "Stocking" sent it in to me as original.

I have culled out of my scrap book other tales which I wrote for "Our Stocking." Here are some of them:

The proprietor of the Owego Hotel caught a half-witted neighbor one cold night at the hotel wood pile. He did not hesitate to abuse the thief roundly.

"Oh, yis," retorted the unabashed and still ready-tongued Milesian, "now Oi have found ye out; jist what iverybody says, ye quarrel with iverybody ye have dealings wid."

The editor received a call from a farmer who had subscribed for *St. Nicholas*. He explained that

he had concluded to support Franklin Pierce for President by declaring: "I couldn't vote for that cussed Scott, because he kept the American soldiers three months in Mexico, trying to take the city of Quebec."

One venerable citizen, a Democrat of the most rabid type, arranged a revival meeting. He asked the prayers of the congregation for his "forty unconverted grandchildren." One of the grandchildren, old enough to vote the Whig ticket, turned the tables on his Democratic grandsire by getting up in meeting and asking prayer "for the whole Jackson party."

I had great sport grilling the Legislature of the day. The "Stocking" related how a distinguished New York politician, a victim to headache, went to a surgeon, who took out his brains and filled the cavity with cotton.

"I think," said the surgeon to the patient, "that that will relieve you. Come around in a month, and if necessary I will replace your brains."

A month passed. The grateful politician, who had been unusually active in the interim, reported to his physician: "I never felt better in my life."

"But," said the doctor, "I've got your brains all ready—shan't I put 'em back?"

"That's all right, doctor," was the patient's reply. "But I shan't need 'em. I've been elected to the Legislature."

Finney, the evangelist, was well known in

Owego, where he made more than one stirring call to the unconverted. The "Stocking" described him as meeting a profane boatman on the canal-bank in Rochester. This conversation ensued:

Finney (solemnly)—Sir, do you know where you are going?

Profane Boatman—Up the canal on the Johnny Sands.

Finney—No, no; you are going to h—l, faster than any canal boat can carry you.

Profane Boatman (irately)—And now, do you know where you are going?

Finney—I expect to go to Heaven!

Profane Boatman—No, no; you are going right into the canal!

And with that he pitched him in.

No-license made it hard to get a drink. The physicians of Owego hesitated long before they prescribed liquor. One poor doctor had the hardest time to resist the importunities of his patients. He agreed one day to prescribe whisky for Michael McGuire, and asked him if two ounces would be about right.

"Sure, doctor," said Michael, "two quarts would be nearer right." Then hopefully: "What's a barrel of whisky in a family that doesn't keep a cow?"

German literature appealed strongly to me. I loved to translate German poems. Specimens of

my work were published in the "Stocking." Here is one:

Abroad shalt thou go,
  On thy white bosom wear
A nosegay, and doubt not
  An angel is there;
Place a rose near thy bed,
  Nightly sentry to keep,
And angels shall rock thee
  On roses to sleep.

This verse in the "Stocking" was original with me:

TO STELLA

A little star rode all alone,
  Along the azure sky,
And sang a mournful song, because
  No other orb was nigh;
But soon a glorious planet swept
  Adown the ethereal main,
And twinkled at the pretty star,
  Which twinkled back again.
They wove in one their silver crowns,
  And locked their flashing wings,
And now no rover of the skies
  Like happy Stella sings.

The libations and tragic death of a Berkshire town character inspired me to compose a few verses, originally printed in my home newspapers. Years after I read them once at a Lotos Club dinner. The guests told me they were a scream. The skit was entitled "A Pastoral Poem, with a queue-rious pig-tail, after Hood, but not much

behind Saxe, on the death of P. I. G. Potter." (Peter Ishmael Gamaliel Potter, familiarly known as "Pig" Potter, fought for freedom, bored for water, and died for whisky.)

The lines were:

I

The Potters were old Berkshire stock,
  Son "Pig," a blooded man,
Who, with a smooth-bore on his back,
  Helped free the sons of Ham.

II

In peace and war he plied his arts,
  For water or for blood;
He bored for one in rebels' hearts,
  The other—in the mud.

III

For water he would root like sin,
  'Mid grunts of fiendish mirth,
And plunge his hellish iron in
  The bow-wells of the earth.

IV

He saved his bacon in the "wah,"
  His pay was not sin's wages.
He cared no straw, save sages saw
  Him chopped into sau-sages.

V

Though hard Pig's lot, he bore it well,
  Through hard-pan, storm and sun;
He never squealed on battlefield,
  But found dead-loads of fun.

VI

Pig's pen produced choice tender-l(o)ines,
  Rich liter-ary meat;
And when his gait was poetry,
  You'd smile to see Pig's feet.

VII

His-will was law, with all well-bred
  Corn-fed rats of his crib.
And though a single life Pig Lead,
  He always had spare-rib.

VIII

His mouth was a fire-water cure,
  One eyelid owned a stye;
He swore he took his water pure,
  In corn-you or Pig's eye.

IX

Queer spirits his resorts adorned,
  Tough chaps who scorned rye bread;
His mess was always badly corned,
  But passed for prime still-fed.

X

In winter drear, he swilled his beer,
  A swine or porcine bummer;
This proverb queer, to him was dear:
  "One's wallow don't make summer."

XI

He ever gave a willing ear,
  Though thous-and bores assail;
His nose's bloom, his eye-ball's blear.
  Lent luster to each tale.

BIRTHPLACE OF T. C. PLATT, OWEGO, N. Y.

XII

At last grim death stuck Pig's thick rind,
  Dried up his water work;
He made a brine of pure "strychnine,"
  And pickled his fresh pork.

XIII

Though life was but a deuced bore,
  To find old Adam's swig,
In death, with spirits, may he soar
  An angel—not roast Pig.

During 1877 and 1878 I did a deal of traveling in the wild and woolly West. Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune,* and Charles G. Fairman, editor of the Elmira *Advertiser,* requested me to write for their readers my impressions. I contributed a number of letters. Herewith are presented one or two of my efforts to become a journalist:

[Elmira *Daily Advertiser,* Monday, August 20, 1877]

THE BLACK HILLS

Interesting Description by the Hon. T. C. Platt

Owego, N. Y., August 17, 1877.

To the Editor of the *Advertiser:*

Back from the Black Hills with a sound skin and a whole scalp! "Foolhardy" was the last cheering word which fell from the lips of friends on parting. They had been reading the sensational headlines which ornament the Indian tales

of the metropolitan newspapers and believed it all. The journey overland from Cheyenne to Deadwood, a distance of 280 miles, was full of fatigue and discomfort; but despite the pound over rough roads for fifty-five consecutive hours on old-fashioned Concord coaches; despite the constant inhaling of the disgusting alkali dust which made throat and nostrils raw and sore; despite the vile rations of sour bread and greasy bacon of the log taverns; despite the danger of robbers and redskins, the trip was one of new revelations, sensations and enjoyment. Nowhere on the American continent can there be found any experience to compare with life in a new mining camp. Experience in the lumber camps of the West and South is rough, but it is refined and cultivated by comparison. Society is made up of the bold, restless, reckless spirits who for years have been chasing the demon of adventure and the *ignis fatuus* of fortune through the mountains and gulches of California, Nevada, Colorado, Montana and even Mexico; men of every color and clime under the sun, to whom the quiet life of advanced civilization would be worse than death; men reckless of health, life and money, but whose varied and bitter experiences have made sharp, shrewd and unscrupulous; men who have seen wealth and poverty, sometimes almost within the same twelvemonth—all men of great courage but little conscience. To say that Deadwood is wicked is feeble talk. However, it is better than Sodom,

for there are good men there sufficient to save it, and as the population becomes less migratory, their morals will improve.

This new city of Deadwood, which one year ago scarcely had an existence, now boasts of nearly 4,000 inhabitants. It is situated at the confluence of the two creeks, called the Whitewood and the Deadwood, the one named from the prevalence of white birch trees along the hillsides, and the other from the fallen timber that strews the gulch. It is a commercial center of the Black Hills, the entire population of which is variously estimated from ten to fifteen thousand, including Gayville, Leed City, Central City and other mining hamlets that have sprung up in these two main gulches and their tributaries. No correct census is possible on account of the migratory character of the people. Within a brief period from one to two thousand men stampeded from here to the Big Horn diggings. Prospecting there having thus far proved fruitless, many of these adventurers will no doubt return. Deadwood is a city made up of tents, huts, shanties and wooden shells, with now and then a frame building that can be dignified with the appellation of house, although they are all sufficient protection against sun or rain. Pine timber abounds in the vicinity of a very good quality, and now that sawmills have sprung up all around and lumber has fallen to the moderate price of $20 per thousand, a better class of buildings will no doubt be substituted in the fu-

ture. Rents are high, small shops commanding from $100 to $150 per month. The principal hotel, a rough wooden structure owned by a Chinese laundryman, One Coon Sing, is rented for $250 a month. The streets at all times present a lively appearance, and especially on Sunday. Mining is the only business that is suspended on the Sabbath, and it becomes the miners' holiday. Stores, shops, saloons, barrooms, faro-banks, theaters, dance houses, are in full blast on that day, and are well patronized. The largest faro-bank is on the first floor of an open store, a hundred feet deep, on the Main Street, and seemed to be one of the most popular and respectable institutions of the town. Gold dust is the miners' medium of exchange, and every barroom owns its pair of scales. Until quite recently a quarter of a dollar was the minimum price for even a glass of lager beer, but the spirit of progress and competition has at last invaded the land, and the doorway of many a saloon now bears this hopeful legend: "Two drinks for two bits." The town claims to have two churches, the one a Congregational and the other a Roman Catholic; but good plants must be of slow and dwarfish growth in a garden full of poisonous weeds. Morals and religion are at a discount in this market. Considering the distance of overland transportation, prices of food and living are not extravagant, correspondents of New York journals to the contrary notwithstanding. It is true that occasionally there will

occur a temporary scarcity of some one particular article of home consumption, like flour or kerosene, but as large mule and ox freight trains are constantly coming and going, and competition is lively, no such state of affairs can be of long duration. Flour now is $19 per barrel, and kerosene 75 cents per gallon. Good board can be had for $12 per week. For the past six months more than 500 teams, an average of six horses, mules or oxen to a team, have been engaged in transporting merchandise and machinery into these diggings. An old freighter informed me that his trains had never but once been disturbed by Indians, and then only to steal stock.

The impression which prevails in the East, that the Black Hills, as a gold-producing country, is a fraud and a delusion, is not based upon impartial and reliable information. It comes mainly from drones and dead beats who have gone, as many did in the early days to California, expecting, without money and without work, to realize fortunes in a day; to pick up gold nuggets in every crack and crevice of rocks, and because they have failed to realize their expectations, pronounced the country a failure. Such fellows would despise heaven if they found the golden pavement fastened down. The fact is, that mining for the precious metals, like any other business, to be carried on successfully, requires capital, labor and capacity; and we venture the assertion that there is no better field for enterprising labor with

small capital in our broad domain than the gold and silver mines of the Black Hills. What they lack in extreme richness they make up in economy of mining and tractability of the quartz. The rich veins of ore lie near the surface, and the great expense of hoisting is thereby averted.

The territory as yet developed is somewhat limited in extent, but there is much wealth yet hidden in the depths of these hills that will not long escape the prying eyes of the prospector. Several mines, such as the "Alpha," the "Hidden Treasure," the "Golden Terra," the "Llewellyn," the "Keats," etc., are yielding most satisfactory returns, in two or three cases as high as $10,000 per week. The average yield of gold, per ton, is about $25, which, considering the character of the ore, is better than a much larger yield in the more stubborn quartz of Colorado and Nevada. Between twenty and thirty stamp mills for crushing and separating ore are in operation, or in process of erection in these diggings, constructed mainly for doing custom work. This fact alone is a complete answer to the representations of the croakers. As to the gulch mines, there are not a half dozen in the valley of the Deadwood Creek but what are paying well. One of the best is owned by a live Irishman, Jack McLear, who has already taken out of his claim over $40,000. We saw him "clean up," at evening, one day's work. The result was not up to the average, being about $575, and his working force consists of nineteen

men. His yield in one day has been as high as $2,200. As a matter of course, these sluice mines will be exhausted in a year or two, but the quartz veins show unmistakable evidences of great extent and capacity. We hazard the opinion that from $6,000,000 to $8,000,000 in gold will be produced in these hills the present year. From reliable data we are satisfied that the banking houses are buying nearly $250,000 per month, and they do not obtain one-half the product. From the nature of the case, conflicts of title to mining claims are frequent. Up to the 28th of last February these auriferous hills were a part of an Indian reservation, but no such barrier could restrain the restless, resistless American gold-hunter. He came, he saw, he conquered, as usual. The Government was forced to make a new deal with the savages, and on the day last mentioned a treaty was made and concluded, in which Uncle Sam once more became possessed of these goodly gulches, and Mr. Lo & Co. reluctantly agreed to "go West" and abandon these happy hunting grounds. It is not strange, under such circumstances, that the "poor Indian" should hang around the out-edges and occasionally lift a scalp. However, the stories of their raids and massacres are grossly exaggerated. For six months scarcely a redskin has been seen south of Deadwood. An occasional murder has been committed by them a few miles north of there, in and about the valley of the Spearfish Creek, a valley which

is well watered and possessed of agricultural resources of the richest kind. It is a remarkable fact that United States mail coaches and telegraph lines are seldom disturbed by them. They have a wholesome fear of the "Great Father" at Washington, and a superstitious respect for the electric fluid.

The robbers, "road agents," as they are politely denominated, have been for several weeks the terror of the stage routes, but they have done violence only in one instance, when they wounded, but did not kill, the driver of a coach who refused to stop his horses at their command. That driver has recovered, and mounts his box as usual every day. We escaped molestation, but coaches just before and just after us were overhauled in the most approved banditti style. When no resistance is offered, as is invariably the case, these gentlemanly freebooters are extremely polite and considerate. To be sure, they compel their victim, at the muzzle of the shotgun, to step down and out, to turn his pockets inside out, to remove his boots and stockings in order to disclose any hidden treasure, to rip open the lining of his garments and make a clean delivery; but what shall it profit a man to save his jack-knife and postal currency and lose his precious life? Here is just where philosophy is superior to pluck, and poverty is an unmixed blessing. After the gentlemanly agents have concluded their business, it is quite the fashion to sit down by the roadside with the passen-

gers and indulge in a short season of social intercourse and interchange of solid and liquid compliments. But as a matter of healthy precaution, they always insist upon a secondary pull at the bottle of their victim, fearing poison. Their first raids were eminently successful, in one instance securing booty to the amount of $20,000; but latterly travelers go divested of all valuables, and the business has become so unprofitable that the attacks are growing less and less frequent. They will soon entirely cease.

In conclusion, we would say to the American pilgrim, in the language of the Oriental devotee, "See Deadwood and die!" You will surely know little of one interesting phase of American life until you do see Deadwood. T. C. P.

[New York *Daily Tribune*, founded by Horace Greeley, Thursday, November 14, 1878]

THE BLACK HILLS

A Romantic Journey

Modern Stage-coaching—A Prairie in Flames—Mineral and Agricultural Wealth

(From an occasional correspondent of the *Tribune*.)

Deadwood, D. T., October 25.—The Eastern pilgrim who glides along in palace cars and imagines

that the glory of the primitive stage-coach has departed should come West and enlarge his views of his country. A ride from Bismarck, the present Western terminus of the Northern Pacific Railroad, 250 miles to the Black Hills, would give him new sensations and novel notions of life and things. At this season of the year it is an enjoyable journey. Good roads, good horses, good weather and good company, such as we had, make it an exhilarating experience, and the forty hours of incessant travel are really nothing but a protracted pleasure excursion. Early childhood pictures of the stately coach-and-four, the gay horses and bright coaches, are practically verified on this line. With fresh relays of spirited horses every fifteen miles, a courteous conductor on each coach, besides the driver, to minister to the comfort of the passengers, and armed and mounted outriders in advance, to look after your safety through the dangerous districts, rushing along at an average speed of seven miles an hour, you can also imagine yourself in merry Old England instead of wild Young America. However, much depends upon the companions of your journey. The coach which preceded us carried a lone woman with eight small children. Think of enduring forty hours of that pent-up agony! Pity yourself, but more pity the poor woman! The Democratic candidate for Congress came through with those cheerful surroundings. He still lives to recount his sacrifices and achievements as dry nurse. Of course, there are

all along suspicions of raiding redskins and fears of roving "road agents"; but only enough for gentle excitement, healthy stimulus. Not a funeral note disturbed our ears, except one bright afternoon when an outrider turned aside to send a bullet through the heart of a stage-struck antelope. Timid people, perhaps, would not, at dead of night, enjoy the mingled cry of the coyote and the bark of the prairie-dog. But it is only a frontier welcome; they are harmless serenaders.

The first night, when well out on the plains, a grand reception awaited us. For three hours, on both sides of the roadway, there was one unending display of natural fireworks, fantastic, brilliant, beautiful. The camp-fire of some careless emigrant had invaded the dry grass of the prairie. A brisk breeze had scattered the devouring element over a vast area of territory, and for fifty miles this gorgeous exhibition of pyrotechnics made night glorious. The flames assumed strange, fantastic shapes. Where the growth of grass was rank and uniform a column of fire would rush along like the even flow of a cataract, one great gliding sheet of flame. Then again, for a long distance the thin grass was consumed away, leaving the huge tufts of thick growth still burning in disconnected clumps, dotting the plain like camp-fires of a great army. Here we were dazzled by a bright red crescent of advancing fire. It took all conceivable forms and shapes. As we went down into the bottom of an occasional

gulch, the glimpse of the burning highland was like that of a distant castle with towers and chambers all brilliantly illuminated. Be assured, for fireworks on a magnificent scale there is nothing that can exceed a northwestern prairie all ablaze, unless it be a Black Hills thunderstorm. The latter may be more brilliant, but is too brief to compete.

Probably nothing can equal American avarice and enterprise. Here is Deadwood, a live city of 5,000 inhabitants. Here stand the Black Hills, peopled with at least 15,000 busy souls, all digging and pushing after the golden treasure of these mountains, where only a little more than two brief years ago hostile savages alone held sway. One year's work has wrought wondrous changes in these hills. The population has become steadfast, business legitimate, and the permanent wealth of the country positively established. There can be no doubt that, everything considered, this is the richest mining section yet discovered on this continent. While the ore does not average as high as many discoveries of Colorado and California, yet its uniform freeness, the abundance of wood and water, the cheapness of supplies, and the great agricultural resources of the surrounding country, make the net products of legitimate mining operations more safe and satisfactory than anywhere else. With economical management, the cost of the entire process of getting gold here does not exceed $3.50 per ton;

consequently, $6 ore pays well. The average yield probably is about $9 per ton, while some mines can show as high as $25 and $30. A safe estimate of the gold product of the Black Hills this year is $3,000,000. It is equally safe to predict that next year it will be double that. Eastern capitalists have stood in their own light in neglecting the grand opportunities for investment which have been and still are opened here. California speculators are snatching up everything that is good as fast as discovered. They have already built two large eighty-stamp mills, said to be the finest in the world, one upon the "Father de Smet" lode, and the other on the "Home Stake," each mill costing the round sum of $175,000. The latter is now in the full tide of successful operation, crushing nearly 200 tons of ore each day, and realizing at least $20,000 in gold each week. These same persons are constructing two other large mills for working other lodes, and are skimming the cream of the country. There are fully one thousand stamps already at work in these hills, pounding out the yellow bars. And still they come. One of the earliest and richest discoveries was the "Aurora" mine. Its average yield has been $25 per ton. The title has been in dispute, and a desperate struggle has been in progress for fifteen months over this property. Last summer, one of the owners and original discoverers was shot down while defending possession. Very recently Judge Barnes, of the United States District

Court, has rendered a decision confirming the title of the persons in possession and dissolving the injunction which has so long tied up the mine, and now active operations are resumed. One of the lucky owners is the Hon. George E. Spencer, of Alabama, who is now here, and who, it is understood, after the expiration of his Senatorial term, will make the hills his home. He has already done the territory good service in securing the appropriation which has resulted in building the new military post near here for the protection of the people. General Sheridan made an admirable location for this fort in a broad, fertile basin near Bear Butes, on a beautiful stream of water of the same name. The buildings in process of construction are being put up at small cost and are of a substantial character.

The season has developed the agricultural possibilities of the hills. No doubt remains of the ability to raise large crops in the fertile valleys which are found in all directions. Vegetables of all kinds have been cultivated with great success, and the quality and quantity of the potato crop has astonished everybody. It is deemed sufficient to supply the winter wants of the entire population, and is selling at the moderate price of one dollar a bushel. Petroleum springs have been discovered about fifty miles from here on the Cheyenne Road, and the crude oil is being used quite extensively in the mills for lubricating purposes. Some adequate idea of the character and volume

of the business of Deadwood can be formed from the fact that a Chicago house within a year past has sold the merchants over half a million dollars worth of groceries without losing a single dollar by bad debts.

A new United States district judge for this part of the territory has recently been appointed to fill a vacancy. The administration has honored itself in the selection of the man for the place, and greatly gratified the entire bar of the territory. It is the first instance, in the history of Dakota, that a bona-fide resident of the territory has been chosen to fill a Federal office. It is a popular plan, especially when men of the character of Judge Moody, the new incumbent, can be found within the borders, willing to sacrifice a large practice for the meager salary of such a judgeship. He has been for many years a resident of Yankton, and is universally conceded to be a man of rare legal attainments and strict integrity. He is a native New Yorker, and the brother-in-law of Hon. Thomas G. Alvord, of Syracuse, where he received his legal education in the office of Judge Morgan.

T. C. P.

I have heretofore had some sport with Charles Lewis, the Owego village bootblack. His quaint utterances gave me many a chance for a good story, which I promptly jotted down and sub-

mitted to the periodicals of the day. One of them, that was accepted and printed by *Harper's Magazine* in March, 1872, happens to occur to me. Here it is:

Charles Lewis, the illustrious bootblack, whose name the columns of the "Drawer" have heretofore rendered immortal, still lives and "shines" on the shores of the majestic Susquehanna, at the village of Owego, N. Y. This professor of the science of bettering man's understanding has the reputation of being a "born fool"; but, as a colored preacher once originally remarked, "out of the mouths of babes and suckers occasionally spouts up the crude kerosene of wisdom."

Although weak in intellect, Charles is strong in his religious faith, and a devoted member of the Methodist Church; but he has not yet learned to subdue his angry passions under adverse circumstances. Sometimes, when the boys of Belial conspire to irritate him, the "old boy" takes possession of him, and he indulges in language more forcible than pious or polite. Like many other professional gentlemen, Charlie boasts of his pedigree, and always points with pride to the fact that his father was an immediate descendant of the aboriginal Mr. Lo, and his maternal ancestor was of high Dutch extraction.

A few days since his spiritual guardian, Rev. Mr. B——, met our simple hero and proceeded to read him a mild lecture for a recent violent out-

burst of passion, in which the poor parishioner had publicly made use of the most unpardonable profanity. The accused pleaded in extenuation of his misdemeanor that his provocation was great—that he was taunted and tormented by wicked boys beyond human endurance.

"Nevertheless, my dear brother," said the kind-hearted pastor, "you should keep in mind the sufferings and example of our blessed Lord and Savior, who was persecuted even unto death; who was brought as a lamb to the slaughter; and as a sheep before the shearers is dumb, so he opened not his mouth."

A smile of triumph, of new-born intelligence, illumined the bootblack's woe-begone face, as he significantly answered:

"Elder, that was bully; but probably he wasn't half Injun, and the other half Dutch."

GEN. U. S. GRANT

CHAPTER III

1860-1873

I don a Lincoln Wide-awake uniform—Am initiated into the mystery of President-making—Why I forswore my first Congressional nomination—Début as a lawmaker—Write lampoons on Greeley.

WITH song and torch, and wearing a Wide-awake uniform, I did all I could in my home district in 1860 to put Abraham Lincoln, the great Emancipator, in the White House. Four years later I aided in the repetition of this triumph, and to make Reuben E. Fenton Governor of New York. Nowhere was the shock of the assassination of the greatest of all Presidents more stunning than in the little village where, along with other young men, I was striving to build up just such a party as Lincoln desired and advocated. I had become chairman of the Tioga County Republican Committee. I identified myself with the organization which Roscoe Conkling, as successor to Thurlow Weed, was just beginning to lead. It seemed as if the tragic death of Lincoln and the elevation of Andrew Johnson to his seat meant that we might as well surrender hope of maintaining our party

in the State and nation. From the beginning of the Johnson administration, there was not the slightest sympathy between it and the New York leaders. Therefore, there could not be between it and the rank and file.

It was with intense delight that, acting in harmony with the most representative Republicans in the Empire State, I joined in making sure that the New York delegation to the National Convention of 1868 supported General Ulysses S. Grant for the Presidency. There was great joy in the Southern tier counties when news came that he had been nominated. It was redoubled when the returns showed him to have defeated Horatio Seymour, who had twice been the Democratic Governor of New York, and who had been charged with secretly, if not openly, sympathizing with the rebels who sought to dismember the Republic.

The election of Grant placed the Republican party on a firmer footing in New York than it had enjoyed since its birth. His administration gave the lie to Democratic boasts that the party behind him was of mere mushroom growth, and would disintegrate and disappear as had others formed to supplant that which had ruled the Government for the better part of a century. The wise, conservative conduct of the Government under Grant, and his conciliatory policy toward the men who had conspired to destroy the Union, caused him to become a popular idol, which warranted and resulted in his renomination and reëlection in 1872.

NAMED FOR CONGRESS, BUT DECLINE

In the fall of 1870, while about to embark in the lumber business in the wilds of Michigan, I received a message that I had been nominated for Congress in my home district. It was then known as the Twenty-sixth District. I had given my sworn pledge, before leaving home, that the influence of my friends and myself would be exerted to secure the nomination of Milo Goodrich, of Tompkins. I wired to my followers that they must reconvene the convention and name Goodrich. They answered that, after a thousand ballots, it had been found impossible to agree upon Goodrich, or anybody but myself. I wrote a letter emphatically declining the nomination. The grounds were contained in this:

I have just received unofficial but authentic information of the final action of the Republican convention at Owego, in putting me in nomination as a candidate for Congress; and I make haste to advise you of my position and determination in the matter. While I most gratefully appreciate the compliment intended, the peculiar circumstances of the case render acceptance impossible, and compel me to unqualifiedly decline the nomination.

In view of the well-known facts that I was chosen a delegate to this convention, publicly and privately pledged to an unwavering support of

Milo Goodrich, Esq., of Tompkins County, and that in my absence from the convention the present result was reached without the sanction or concurrence of Mr. Goodrich and his friends, it must be the unanimous verdict of the party in the district that I have no rightful claim to the nomination, and would not be entitled to the respect or support of the party if I should accept it. I am of the opinion that political preferment obtained at the expense of old friendships and personal honor must prove hollow and unsatisfying.

I also believe that all true Republicans will agree with me in the sentiment,—better no nomination than a nominee tainted with even the suspicion of treachery and dishonor.

Again returning my sincere thanks to you and the convention, and hoping for a speedy and harmonious solution of our difficulties, I beg leave to tender my declination of the distinguished honor. With great respect,

Your obedient servant,

T. C. Platt.

To Hon. E. J. Agard, Chairman, Republican Congressional Convention, Twenty-sixth District, N. Y.

This message was ignored, so I hastened home and demanded that the convention be reconvened. It was so ordered. Mr. Goodrich was nominated and elected by a very large majority.

I MEET CONKLING

It was in 1870, too, that I really began to know Roscoe Conkling. He had gradually assumed the leadership of the party, laid down by Thurlow Weed. We came together quite intimately at the Republican State convention at Saratoga in September. There, after a bitter contest, he handily defeated Senator Reuben E. Fenton for control of the nomination of the State ticket and the domination of the regular organization.

Conkling was then one of the handsomest men I ever met. He was over six feet tall, of slender build, and stood straight as an arrow. His hair was just turning gray. A curl, described as Hyperion, rolled over his forehead. An imperial added much to the beauty of his Apollo-like appearance. His noble figure, flashing eye and majestic voice made one forget that he was somewhat foppish in his dress.

Fenton neither in looks nor mental qualifications was to be compared with Conkling. He resembled a backwoods farmer who has just dropped into town for the day. Bunches of scraggly whiskers fringing his under jaws provoked detractors to label him "Spinach."

During his first two terms as governor, from 1865 to 1869, Fenton had welded together a following pledged to unhorse Conkling. He ingratiated himself into the favor of President Grant,

and secured the appointment of many friends to desirable Federal offices.

Conkling proudly declined to beg patronage, though warned that his rival would pick all the cherries off the tree. He answered: "All things come to him who waits."

FENTON'S TREACHERY

And they did. At the Saratoga convention of 1870 Conkling whipped Fenton to a finish. I helped him to do it. Conkling was at once recognized by President Grant as the party leader in New York. He nominated General Stewart L. Woodford for governor, secured two-thirds of the members of the State committee, and made Alonzo B. Cornell chairman.

The State ticket was defeated through the treachery of the Fenton men in New York. Many of them were holding lucrative municipal places under Tammany Hall by grace of the notorious William M. Tweed. Chairman Cornell discovered that seventy-five per cent. of the officers of the Republican County Committee, and district leaders, were drawing pay from sinecures under Tweed and Tammany.

Fenton men gave as one excuse for knifing the ticket the removal of Moses H. Grinnell, and the appointment of Thomas Murphy as Collector of the Port of New York.

One result of Conkling's maintaining his grip

on the State organization was the reading out of it all Republicans who clung to office under Tammany.

I devoted the spring and summer of 1871 to disintegrating the Fenton forces in the State, knowing full well that in the fall there would be a battle to the finish for machine supremacy. I found time, however, to now and then take a bit of recreation. July Fourth I joined with my fellow villagers in an old-fashioned Independence Day celebration. There were fantastics and cannon, and firecrackers and balloon ascensions, the usual number of hands and fingers amputated and a glorious display of fireworks at night. My friends insisted upon my making a speech during the day. It was the briefest I recall having delivered. I have been told that it was the best short speech I ever wrote. It was a burlesque on the Declaration of Independence, and was addressed to a group of funmakers, who were indulging in a noisy demonstration over the birth of our nation.

The speech ran like this:

"THE EAGLE LET LOOSE"

My Lords and Gentlemen, High Joint Commissioners and Low Jack Masquers: When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for the people of the rural districts to let loose the American eagle, and a particular locality is hon-

ored with such royal visitation, and imposing display as your presence presents, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that somebody say something.

Our forefathers did thus-wise in the days that tried men's soles and uppers. Our five fathers of this village are disposed to do likewise, even in these days of taxes that try men's calf skins.

They have commissioned me to express to you, with all the wealth of Webster's Unabridged, and with all the strength of spirits undiluted, the pent-up emotions of their patriotic souls.

President Grant lent his powerful aid to the wholesale decapitation of Tammany Republicans, to which I referred in a previous paragraph. There followed a complete reorganization of the New York County party machinery. Horace Greeley, who, like Fenton, wore a little bunch of whiskers under his chin, and who was constantly assailing, in the New York *Tribune,* Grant, Conkling and all others responsible for the downfall of the Fenton-Tammany clique, took the chairmanship of the old Fenton committee.

CONKLING CRUSHES FENTON AGAIN

The real Conkling-Fenton clash came at the State convention of 1871 at Syracuse. It was a riotous gathering. State Chairman Cornell called the convention to order. General George H.

Sharpe named Andrew D. White, of Tompkins, for temporary chairman. General Edwin A. Merritt proposed Chauncey M. Depew. Chairman Cornell quickly ruled out Depew because he was not a delegate. Colonel Anson G. Wood placed G. Hilton Scribner in nomination.

Belligerent members of the rival New York County delegations fought for possession of the stage. Chairman Cornell, his deputies and the police, tried for hours to restore order. When Cornell announced that neither of the warring New York County factions could vote on convention chairman, he risked serious bodily injury. White finally beat Scribner, the Fenton choice, by 188 to 159.

A majority of the Committee on Credentials declared for the Conkling delegates, but recommended that both contending wings be allowed seats in the convention. The minority reported in favor of the Fenton crowd. When it seemed all but certain that the Fenton men would win, Conkling took the floor and saved the day. He convinced the convention that a horde of ballot box pirates, whose firm name was Tammany Hall, had clutched New York County by the throat, tampered with, debauched, and controlled the Republican organization there.

The Fenton delegates bolted after the majority report had been approved by a majority of forty. Though they and their friends again tried to slaughter the Republican State ticket, it was

elected. Conkling's supremacy as a leader was maintained. The Grant administration was upheld, and Tweed's and Tammany's attempt to purchase Republican leaders was overwhelmingly rebuked.

I ENTER CONGRESS

From the day I met Conkling we were on confidential terms. I had been selected by him to look after the Southern tier counties, and I made frequent trips to Washington to consult with him. Though to strangers he appeared cold and austere, to me he was companionable and sought my advice on practically every phase of New York political conditions. I happened to be in Washington during the session of 1871, when Conkling was called upon to kill the Sumner constitutional amendment, making a man who had once held the Presidency ineligible to that office. Of course this was aimed at Grant. In an humble way I joined Conkling in helping to strangle the plot. And with that act all doubt of the renomination of Grant in 1872 was dissipated.

When Grant had been named for a second term my constitutents again insisted that I go to Congress. I was reluctant to do so, but I did wish to make sure of the reëlection of President Grant, and was assured that by taking a nomination I would aid much in rolling up a big majority for Grant in the Southern tier. I accepted a nomination in the following speech:

MY SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE

There is an old adage, a German proverb, I believe, which quaintly tells us that "Speech is silver, silence is gold." A little of the one and plenty of the other are what make up the wealth of eloquence. And happy is the man who possesses these goodly gifts in abundance and harmonious proportions, and understands how to bestow them upon his fellow men with generosity and judgment. As for my humble self, I acknowledge my poverty. I frankly confess that I have neither silver nor gold. I can make no claims to richness of speech; nor can I boast of any achievements which in their golden silence can speak for me; but I would be bankrupt and beggar, indeed, if I could not command some trifling small change of thought and expression to convey to you my deep and absorbing appreciation of the distinguished honor you have just conferred upon me, in making me your Congressional standard-bearer during this momentous campaign. From the fullness of my heart I thank you for the great and unmerited compliment; and, believe me, it is all the more gratifying and flattering, coming, as I am assured it does, with such unanimity, such entire harmony and general good feeling.

But, gentlemen, let me also assure you that I am not vain or foolish enough to imagine for a moment that any claims or merits of my own have guided you in making your selection. I fully ap-

preciate the fact that better names have been suggested, and hundreds of stronger and more available candidates could have been presented to you for consideration. And yet I think I rightly understand that the events of two years ago have given me this undeserved prominence, and that my poor name is put forth simply as that of an earnest and enthusiastic representative of true Republican principles—of those principles which can only be maintained and perpetuated by fidelity to friends and loyalty to party. The occurrences of that protracted and disgraceful struggle of two years ago, and the mortifying results which have followed as a fit sequence, are still fresh in the minds of all of us.

(Goodrich, on whose nomination I had insisted in 1870, proved untrue to every friend who supported him, and broke practically every ante-election promise he made.)

There is no doubt but what your action of today will be interpreted by many as an endorsement of men who dare, under all circumstances, to be true to their promises and faithful to their obligations—as an expression of your abhorrence of all manner of political infidelity and treachery.

Should I be elected (and I trust you and I and all of us can see no other possible conclusion of this day's business), I may not be able to bring to the discharge of my duties the "oily tongue and persuasive voice." Yet I shall hope, by earnest work, by honest votes, and a watchful care

of your interests, to make amends for any such deficiency; and I shall earnestly strive to make my course command your confidence and approbation.

Of one thing you may rest confidentially assured: you shall at least have the comfort of realizing that you have a Republican to represent you. Yes, I promise you more: you shall have the satisfaction of seeing and knowing that you have a Republican representative, who is in full and hearty sympathy with the wise and beneficent and patriotic administration of Ulysses S. Grant—that President and that administration which are already guaranteed a four-years' extension of power by the recent emphatic endorsement of the loyal people of Ohio, Indiana and the glorious old Keystone State. I will conclude by simply repeating the assurance that I am keenly alive to the honors, obligations and responsibilities which your choice has conferred upon me. Again thanking you for the exalted compliment, I beg leave to tender my grateful acceptance of your nomination.

A SATIRE ON GREELEY

It was during this campaign that I became again bucolic, and wrote some articles for home consumption. Horace Greeley, the editor of the New York *Tribune,* who had not secured all he wanted from the Grant administration, bolted the nominations of his party, and suddenly emerged as the

Presidential candidate of the so-called Democratic-Liberal-Republican party. The temptation to lampoon him was too great to be resisted. So, one day, I dashed off a ditty, known as the "Greeley Pill." It was set to the air of "Captain Kidd." Here it is:

Oh, we Democrats forlorn,
(Chorus) We're so sick, oh, we're so sick!
Hungry, fainting, weak and worn,
(Chorus) We're so sick!

Out of office, out of place,
Out of hope and out of grace,
We must make a change of base,
(Chorus) We're so sick, oh, we're so sick!
We must make a change of base,
(Chorus) We're so sick, oh, we're so sick!
We want a bitter pill,
(Chorus) We're so sick, oh, we're so sick!
One that's sure to cure or kill,
(Chorus) We're so sick!
For these twelve long years and more
On Disaster's barren shore,
We've landed needy, seedy, sore,
(Chorus) We're so sick!
Call us drunkards, liars, knaves,
(Chorus) We're so sick, oh, we're so sick!
Call us cowards, traitors, slaves,
(Chorus) We're so sick!
Brand us murderers as you will,
Kick and lash us, we'll lie still,
Dr. Greeley, just one pill,
We're so sick!

Mix it up of all your worst,
(Chorus) We're so sick, oh, we're so sick!
Yes, of all your isms cursed,

(Chorus) We're so sick!
Slanders, libels, scourge and thorn,
"Boiled crow," with hate and scorn,
Oh, Gabriel, blow your horn,
We're so sick!
We must have the Greeley pill,
(Chorus) We're so sick, oh, we're so sick!
'Tis a nauseous dose, we know,
And will gripe and purge us so,
But the pill has got to go,
(Chorus) We're so sick!
Dr. Greeley, hear our cry,
(Chorus) We're so sick, oh, we're so sick!
Come and help us ere we die,
(Chorus) We're so sick, oh, we're so sick!
Come from old Chappaqua's vale,
Bring your pill bags without fail,
Bring the *Tribune's* whitewash pail,
(Chorus) We're so sick!
Behold us on our knees,
(Chorus) We're so sick, oh, so sick!
Give us anything you please,
(Chorus) We're so sick!
Bitter though it be as gall,
We will gulp it down this Fall,
(Chorus) We're so sick!

Grant and Wilson swept every Northern State at the November elections. They had a popular majority of 763,007 over Greeley and Brown, and scored 286 to 18 in the Electoral College. General John A. Dix, Republican, defeated Francis Kernan, Democrat, for governor, by 40,000 plurality, and again the State had a Republican administration.

THOMAS COLLIER PLATT, 1873

CHAPTER IV

1873-1879

Narrow escape from being a real big boss quick—Why I fought for Grant and specie-payment resumption—Espouse the cause of Hayes against Tilden—Ingratitude of Hayes and how New York Republicans punished it—"That Boy Curtis."

It was in 1873 that I experienced my first narrow escape from being precipitately propelled into the party leadership, a full decade before it was actually awarded to me. Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Salmon P. Chase died in May of that year. Senator Conkling was besought by President Grant, his brother Republicans and lawyers and our party newspapers to become Chase's successor.

Conkling, Chester A. Arthur, Alonzo B. Cornell and myself, as well as others influential in the organization, had many consultations about this. Conkling, while considering the tender of the Chief Justiceship nearly a fortnight, often assured me that should he accept he would employ his authority and good wishes to place his mantle upon my shoulders.

Finally, however, the Senator concluded to decline to go upon the bench. In a letter to President Grant, November 20, 1873, Conkling wrote:

"I ask you to let your choice fall upon another who, however else qualified, believes as man and lawyer, as I believe, in the measures you have upheld in war and peace."

In explaining to me and other friends why he was loth to ascend the loftiest bench in the land, Conkling said:

"I could not take the place, for I would be forever gnawing my chains."

The financial panic of 1873 produced every conceivable kind of crazy legislation, which its promoters promised would prove a panacea for ills from which the business world was suffering. One of the most iniquitous plans presented was the "inflation" act. It provided for the redemption and reissue of U. S. notes and for free banking.

I was among the foremost of its opponents in the House. I regarded it as most vicious, contended that the country had been suffering too much already from an excess of paper money, and urged that the Government at once resume specie payments.

GRANT VETOES THE INFLATION ACT

Conkling and Eastern Republicans generally made a fight against the legislation in both Senate and House, but Senators and Representatives from

the South and West combined to put the bill through both branches of Congress.

I joined opponents of the bill in imploring President Grant to veto the act. He answered our prayers. That veto was the forerunner of the legislation that ultimately enabled us to return to a specie basis. Let it be said to the credit of every succeeding national administration that that policy has never been abandoned, though it has been under fire from theorists and repudiationists. That the President, long before the resumption of specie payment was finally enacted into law, had made up his mind that repudiation of honest debts and the establishment of Greenbackism as a national policy should not be tolerated, was made manifest when, after a White House conference, a memorandum in Grant's handwriting was circulated. It read:

"I believe it a high and plain duty to return to a specie basis at the earliest practicable day, and not only in compliance with legislative and party pledges, but as a step indispensable to lasting prosperity.

"I would like to see a provision that at a fixed day, say July 1, 1876, the currency issue by the United States should be redeemed in coin on presentation to any assistant treasurer, and that all currency so redeemed should be canceled and never reissue. To effect this it would be necessary to authorize the issue of bonds, payable in gold, bearing such interest as would command par in

gold, to be put out by the Treasurer only in such sums as should from time to time be needed for the purpose of redemption."

Gross injustice has been done to President Grant in ascribing to Rutherford B. Hayes and John Sherman all the credit for the inception and enactment of the law which did so much to restore commercial confidence. While not disposed to rob either Hayes or Sherman of their share, I desire to accord to Grant the greatest measure of approbation for his conception of a policy which has endured to the present hour.

TILDEN DEFEATS DIX

A Prohibition wave, coupled with popular resentment against a Republican and Democratic Congressional attempt to repeal the reconstruction act, one of the monuments of the Grant administration, contributed toward giving New York State to the Democrats in 1874 by 50,000 majority.

Governor Dix had proved a most admirable executive. But he had refused to be bulldozed by advocates of an absolute confiscation of breweries and other establishments in which intoxicants were made or sold. The result was that thousands of so-called Republicans either voted the straight Prohibition or the Democratic ticket. The campaign developed a new and sagacious politician in Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic candidate for governor. He originated and inaugurated a can-

vass by school districts. To each voter he addressed an autograph letter, soliciting his personal support.

Tilden's gilded pills and promises of "reform," of everything conceivable, sent straight to the individual suffragist, flattered them much. Many thousands of votes did he secure by this unctuous method of campaigning.

After he had taken the oath of office, Governor Tilden "opened the books." They showed that Dix and his associates had fulfilled their pledges to the people.

Though Tilden proclaimed during his canvass that he had discovered a corrupt Republican canal ring, which he purposed to destroy, at no time did he bring to the door of any Republican State official evidence of the indiscriminate accusations uttered by him upon the stump. The failure of Tilden to make good his charges, and the offensive partisanship of his administration, enabled us to restore our party in control of the Legislature in 1875. This served as a curb upon the Janus-like Tilden, and very little of his proposed revolutionary and partisan legislation became law.

CONKLING INDORSED FOR PRESIDENT

During the latter part of 1875 Conkling had become so intrenched in the leadership of the U. S. Senate, and so universally recognized as the spokesman for President Grant, that friends of

the national executive in New York rallied to put him in the White House.

My intimate association with the Oneida statesman had taught me not only to admire, but to love him. I made it my pleasure and task to so help to organize the Empire State Republicans, that we might have a solid delegation for Conkling to the National Convention of 1876. That solid delegation was chosen at Syracuse, March 22 of that year. Unanimously were resolutions approved, declaring that:

"We present Roscoe Conkling to the National Republican Convention as our choice for President. We give assurance that the nomination of our candidate will secure beyond question the thirty-five electoral votes of New York for the Republican electoral ticket."

Alonzo B. Cornell headed the delegation to the Cincinnati convention, which met June 14. His associate delegates-at-large were Henry Higland Garnett, Theodore M. Pomeroy and James M. Matthews.

Among other delegates, including myself, were General Stewart L. Woodford, former Governor Edwin D. Morgan, Sherman S. Rogers, Benjamin K. Phelps, Marshall O. Roberts, Charles M. Dennison and Frank Hiscock.

Governor Morgan was chairman of the Republican National Committee. He called the National Convention to order. New York won the first skirmish by making Pomeroy temporary chairman.

I was delegated to act as chairman of the Committee on Credentials. General Woodford, who I see has recently parted with his mutton-chop whiskers, in a speech, eloquent and polished, placed Conkling in nomination. He eulogized our candidate in this way:

GENERAL WOODFORD'S EULOGY

"He is a positive quantity in politics. Through the dark and trying hours when slander and misrepresentation hissed at the silent, brave man whom we have twice placed in the Presidential chair, he was the faithful and true friend of Ulysses S. Grant. I believe that Conkling can carry New York. There is in New York a vote that is neither Republican nor Democratic; a vote that went for Dix in 1872; a vote that went for Tilden in 1874. Give us a candidate with whom and under whom we can achieve victory; that means honesty in finance, loyalty in government and absolute protection to the lowliest and humblest under the flag of our fathers."

The New York delegation howled itself hoarse during and at the end of Woodford's speech.

Connecticut presented Marshall Jewell; Indiana, Oliver P. Morton; Kentucky, Benjamin H. Bristow. Robert G. Ingersoll, in the greatest speech I ever heard him deliver, named James G. Blaine, of Maine. Rutherford B. Hayes was presented by Governor Edward F. Noyes, of Ohio. Pennsyl-

vania asked the nomination of Governor John F. Hartranft.

The balloting began on the morning of the 17th inst. Blaine led on the first, with 285; Morton had 124; Bristow, 113; Conkling, 99; Hayes, 61; Hartranft, 58; Jewell, 12, and Wheeler, 3. All the New Yorkers except George William Curtis stood firm for Conkling. He also received 1 vote from California; 3 from Florida; 8 from Georgia; 1 each from Iowa, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri and Nevada; 7 from North Carolina; and 3 each from Texas and Virginia.

After the second ballot, in which Blaine gained 11 and Hayes 3, the convention was thrown into a turmoil because of an attempt to enforce a rule by which every delegation must vote as a unit. Permanent Chairman Edward McPherson, of Pennsylvania, ruled that "every individual member has a right to vote according to his individual sentiments."

There was a prolonged and acrimonious debate. Appeal after appeal was taken, but Chairman McPherson's rulings were invariably sustained.

The third and fourth ballots resulted in Conkling losing 6 votes from the South. New York stood pat for him, except that A. A. Low, of Brooklyn, deserted to Bristow.

HAYES NOMINATED

On the seventh ballot, the Indiana delegation deserted Morton, and went almost in a solid bunch

for Hayes. Conkling, who had not been at any time confident of securing the nomination, knew it was all up with him then. A quick consultation between him and Cornell, Pomeroy, Arthur and myself brought about an agreement that we should follow Indiana and flock to the Ohio candidate.

When New York was called, we threw 61 votes for Hayes. This made his total 384, or 6 more than were needed to nominate him.

William H. Robertson, James W. Husted, Jacob Worth, Jacob W. Hoysradt, James M. Marvin, Stephen Sanford, Amos V. Smiley and James C. Feter refused to join the majority of us in casting only votes for Hayes. They threw theirs to Blaine.

The final ballot gave Hayes, 384; Blaine, 351; Bristow, 21. Hayes' nomination, amid triumphant yells from the Ohioans, was made unanimous.

New York was given a consolation prize in William A. Wheeler, who was named for Vice-President.

There was no joy in New York over the Hayes nomination. Empire State Republicans had been a practical unit for Conkling. They were sorely disappointed. Conkling himself took his defeat much to heart. I am inclined to agree with the statements of several delegates to the National Convention that had Conkling mixed more with people outside the State he would have won at Cincinnati. Up to the hour he became a candidate

for the Presidential nomination, he had shown himself in but two States beyond his own—Pennsylvania and New Jersey. The masses did not know him. They seemed to regard him as frigid, repellent and exclusive, and this was, except to his intimates, true of him.

TILDEN HAYES'S ANTAGONIST

Disheartened, but determined to do all we could for the ticket, we came home. We did our level best to hold the State for Hayes. The Democrats, however, had been shrewd enough to adopt the policy our delegation had contended for at Cincinnati—that of naming a New Yorker for President. They chose Governor Tilden. Then they selected Thomas A. Hendricks for Vice-President, from the doubtful State of Indiana. Desperately as we labored, we could not arouse the voters for Hayes. Conkling, though fully intending to comply with Hayes' written request that he stump the West, was unable to make more than two speeches, and those in his own State. For seven weeks, owing to an affection of the eyes and a malarial malady, he was forced to remain in a dark room. This happening during the heat of the campaign, deprived Hayes and us of his invaluable services in the council chamber and on the field.

That Tilden should defeat Hayes by 33,000 plurality in New York did not surprise me. That

Tilden had carried the country seemed all but certain election night.

But on that night, evidence of the grossest Democratic frauds in Louisiana, South Carolina, Florida and other Southern States was secured by Chairman Zachariah Chandler, of the Republican National Committee. These were ably exposed by the New York *Times,* through the matchless news generalship of John C. Reid, then managing editor of that newspaper.

So glaring was the testimony of crookedness practiced in behalf of the Democratic nominee, that the Republican leaders determined to place it before the House of Representatives, and ascertain who had been honestly elected.

TILDEN MEN CRY WAR

The Democrats, led by Chairman Abram S. Hewitt, of the National Committee, threatened civil war if such a course were resorted to. Former Confederate army officers announced their purpose of heading their old commands, marching on to Washington, and seating Tilden at the point of the bayonet.

Panic seized the country. An invasion of the national capital would probably have been ordered had any other man than General Ulysses S. Grant been President.

When the bloodthirsty Tilden men had been apprised that the chief of the Union armies during

the war of secession was quite as prepared to put down this as he had the previous rebellion, they calmed down somewhat.

Early in January of 1877, Senator George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, presented the initial act intended to provide for an inquiry as to who had been legally elected President and Vice-President. It called for the appointment of a committee, which later submitted what was afterward known as the famous Electoral Commission bill. The men who actually prepared this measure were Senators Edmunds, Freylinghuysen, of New Jersey, and Conkling, Republicans; and Senators Bayard, of Delaware, and Gordon, of Georgia, and Representatives Randall, of Pennsylvania, and Hewitt, of New York, Democrats.

The bill provided that the Senate and House should each appoint five members, and these, with five Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, should constitute a commission to decide concerning the certificates of electoral votes.

President Grant gave his most cordial endorsement, believing it to be the fairest and most practicable method of ascertaining how the people had really cast their ballots.

The House, though Democratic by a large majority, passed the Electoral Commission Bill by a vote of 191 to 86. The Senate approved it by 47 to 17. Twenty-six Democrats joined with twenty-one Republicans in putting it through.

SPEECH ON ELECTORAL COMMISSION

I participated in the House debate and enthusiastically declared for the approval of the act. My views were expressed in a speech delivered January 25, 1877. Here it is:

Mr. Speaker, to me the following reasons seem to justify completely the vote I mean to cast for this bill:

First. While I firmly believe that Governor Hayes was fairly elected President, I cannot deny that a large number of citizens and members of this House believe with equal sincerity that Mr. Tilden was elected. It is an election so close that all admit that the vote of one State, and that one vote of that State, must decide the result. It is a disputed election; the title to the office of President is not so clear in the minds of the people that Governor Hayes, if he were put into office without such an adjustment as this bill purposes, would have that general and universal consent to his administration which is necessary to the welfare of the country. In supporting this measure, I do not conceive that I surrender any rights that are rights. If I held a piece of real estate, the title to which was clouded, I should ask the proper authority to look into it and give me a clear title. I should not thereby declare or confess that I had no faith in my own right, but rather that I had so firm a faith that I was willing to submit all

the facts to an honest and proper tribunal and abide by its decision.

Second. That the matter of settlement proposed in this bill is constitutional and legal I cannot doubt, when I, who am no lawyer, realize the fact that it was framed by the most eminent lawyers of both political parties in both Houses, and that in the Senate it received the support and votes of the ablest constitutional lawyers who are members of that body. If I, a layman, should hesitate to take their opinion, I should only convict myself of rashness and presumption.

Third. I am a lifelong Republican, a strict party man, who has had and still has an abiding faith in the past, the present and the future of that great party. Still I am not of those who believe that in so important, so solemn, so vital a proceeding as is intrusted to the committee by this bill, the Judges of the Supreme Court who are to take part in it will be actuated by partisan considerations. I do not even dare to entertain the belief that the other members of the committee, in the face of their grave and awful responsibilities, will act as partisans. I should be ashamed of myself and of my American citizenship if I cherished such suspicions. I grieve to think that there are any who are willing to impute such base motives to the eminent men who must compose this commission. If our cause is just, we, as Republicans, have nothing to fear from the grand inquest of this tribunal. They will deal

justly and honestly. If our claim is false; if our title to the Presidency is not true, I trust there is no Republican in the land so base as to desire such a lease of power.

Fourth. The voice of the people of the country favors and demands the passage of this bill. Especially is this true of the business and commercial interests of the nation; and they it is who comprise the great majority of the thinking, working, patriotic people of the land. Every property owner, merchant, trader, banker, farmer, mechanic or laborer is personally interested in having a peaceful settlement of this difficulty, which is depressing values, paralyzing trade, retarding industries, and destroying that confidence which is the foundation of business enterprise and prosperity. They want peace, they want prosperity, and they do not for a moment cherish the thought that they are securing it thus through compromise or dishonor.

Some of us, and many people outside these walls, have honest fears of civil war unless some such amicable settlement as this bill provides is adopted. I do not care to express my own opinions on this subject; but all will agree that, short of civil war, no greater calamity could befall our country than to inaugurate a President about whose title to the office a considerable part of the people, including a portion of the Republican party, felt a doubt. Such a doubt, even if it did not provoke resistance to his authority, would yet

maintain a condition of uncertainty and dissatisfaction throughout the country which would be unendurable; because it would paralyze all industry, intensify prevalent distress, and prevent entirely that revival of enterprise and commerce which we so sadly need, and to which, I believe, we may hopefully look forward, if we can but secure a contented acceptance of the result of the Presidential election. Such a result this bill will surely give us. I for one declare here and now that I am ready to abide by the decision of this proposed tribunal if this bill shall become a law; to accept its verdict, whatever it may be—philosophically and patriotically if against my own convictions and hopes; gratefully and joyously if it shall firmly establish the right and title to the Presidential office of that brave soldier and true patriot, Rutherford B. Hayes.

I hope for the passage of the bill, because it will avert from us, as a nation, a great calamity, and because, by adopting this settlement, we may hope to strengthen and continue the proud career of the Republican party, prolong the peaceful life of the nation, perpetuate the existence of orderly and law-abiding liberty, and set an example to the world of which our children and children's children may well be proud—an example which will elevate us in the opinions of all good men everywhere, and show us to be a nation of free men, truly capable of self-government, because

capable of self-restraint, patience and forbearance under the greatest dangers and difficulties.

After a prolonged and bitter partisan quarrel, the report of the inquiry substantiated the allegations of astounding Democratic ballot stuffing, disfranchisement and cooked returns. The Electoral Commission, by a vote of 8 to 7, declared Hayes and Wheeler to have honestly secured 185 electoral votes, as against 184 for Tilden and Hendricks. Therefore, they were declared elected.

Frenzied Tilden devotees renewed their threats of using artillery, if necessary, to blow their favorite into the White House. But Grant had artillery and soldiers, too, at Washington. Hayes and Wheeler were sworn in, and the much dreaded revolution gradually vanished.

SUGGESTED FOR POSTMASTER-GENERAL

Senator Conkling, some time before President Hayes took the oath of office, suggested me for Postmaster-General. Hayes rather contemptuously declined to entertain the proposition. Instead, he, on the very threshold of his administration, delivered a straight-arm blow at the regular organization in our State by appointing, without consultation with it or its leaders, William M. Evarts Secretary of State.

Hayes followed this up by inaugurating a systematic and inexcusable warfare upon every Em-

pire State leader who had supported Conkling at Cincinnati.

REVOLT AGAINST HAYES

The revolt came because it was inevitable. Leaders and members of the rank and file, who had followed the fortunes of the party since its birth, raged at the President for awarding the most desirable Federal places to men who had not only been disloyal to him and the party, but who had been lifelong Democrats.

Not content with insulting the organization by the appointment of its arch-enemy, Evarts, to the most distinguished seat in his Cabinet, Hayes sought to oust Chester A. Arthur, Collector, and Alonzo B. Cornell, Naval Officer of the Port of New York. Both had been placed in office by President Grant. The President tried to supplant these excellent officials with Theodore Roosevelt, father of the man who afterward became President, and L. Bradford Prince, both of whom were bitter opponents of the organization. We saw to it that the President's plan was foiled. The Senate refused to confirm the nominations of either Roosevelt or Prince by such a large majority that Hayes was forced to temporarily quit this method of lopping off the heads of faithful Republican soldiers. But he called into consultation George William Curtis and others of our foes. Between them, there was evolved the impossible civil service "reform" system, which we at once accepted

as inaugurated for the sole purpose of disrupting the party in our State.

Organization Republicans voiced their resentment at the Rochester convention in 1877. I was chairman of the State committee, and was assigned by that committee to act as temporary convention chairman. It was at this convention that the original "Big Four" was established. It consisted of Roscoe Conkling, Chester A. Arthur, Alonzo B. Cornell and myself.

The convention scorched Hayes unmercifully. By resolution and speech it avowed that there was no reason for maintaining the Republican party unless it could be assured of sympathy and coöperation from the Republican administration at Washington.

Conkling was rarely in more superb form than at Rochester. I can see him now, pacing up and down the aisle, hurling barbed epithets at Hayes, and clothing Curtis with sobriquets like the "Man Milliner," which stuck to Hayes' adviser to his dying day. I delivered myself of a few pertinent remarks, which I was informed did not add to the President's affection for me.

I EXCORIATE HAYES

I here reproduce extracts from a speech which friends have said is the best I ever made:

I thank you most heartily for the distinguished

honor of being chosen to preside over your preliminary deliberations. When I look around over this assemblage of the representatives of the Republican party of the Empire State, and observe so many who are older, wiser, more experienced and more deserving; statesmen who have honored the party as well as distinguished themselves in the councils of the commonwealth and of the nation; soldiers whose prowess and patriotism preserved us in the hour of the country's peril, I am disposed to doubt the wisdom of your choice and the propriety of my acceptance. Still, believing as I do, no special significance is intended by your action beyond personal considerations, I accept your choice and assume the duties. I take it to be your purpose to make a recognition of the radical working and fighting soldiers of our political army, who have borne the burden and heat of the day ever since it was organized. I may not deserve the distinction of representing that Old Guard of the Republican hosts, but it is my pride and my boast that from the birthday of the Republican party, to its attainment of what is supposed to be its "years of discretion," there has not been a campaign that has not found me in the front rank of the battle. There has not been an election, either national, State—and I may also say local—that I have not stood at the polls from sunrise to sunset, and fought without weariness or rest for the ticket, the whole ticket, and nothing but the straight Republican ticket. (Applause.)

Up to the present moment I never voted other than the straight Republican ticket.

This zeal was born of a deep and absorbing faith in the righteousness of our cause and the immortality of our principles. That faith still lives, and animates the hearts of the live Republicans of our State. From the Hudson to the Lakes, that faith indignantly spurns the thought that "the mission of the Republican party is accomplished." That faith grieves because the glorious achievements of the war are in danger of being annulled by Southern artifice and Northern sentimentalism. That faith still boldly asserts and declares that with Republican sentiment of the State thoroughly aroused to an appreciation of the impending danger, with complete organization, and with a unanimous determination here and everywhere to win the fight, even in this off year, the State of New York can be redeemed. (Applause.)

THE PARTY IN DANGER

That there are a few men claiming to be Republicans, and even holding high places, who are conniving at the dissolution of the Republican party, is a most lamentable thought. They are the very virtuous statesmen who are credited with the opinion that "there is no such thing as politics at the present time"; that "the people are tired of politics"; that "they want party lines obliter-

ated." One glance at the past political record of all such demagogues will show them to be men who never had any honest, abiding Republican convictions. Some of them may be found among the illustrious spirits who aided Andrew Johnson in carrying the Constitution and the American flag during his brief career. Others were so "weary of politics" that they labored to elevate to the Gubernatorial chair that prince of non-partisans, Samuel J. Tilden. (Ironical laughter.) I venture the opinion that any professed Republican who now pronounces in favor of disregarding party lines, means one of three purposes; namely, the destruction of his own party, the advancement of the Democratic party, or—what is quite as probable—the foundation of a new party. It is cause for congratulation, however, that the number of these political Pecksniffs and tricksters is not large and their influence is limited. The great Republican masses are sound and true. They believe in the necessity for the existence of the Republican party as earnestly as they did in 1860, and mean to maintain its existence. They have confidence in their old leaders and mean to stand by them. Could any stronger proof be asked that the heart of the loyal people beats true and warm to their old convictions and affections than the pride and pleasure universally manifested over the generous tributes of admiration and respect which the Old World has been paying to the soldier and statesman, Ulysses S. Grant? (Here I

had to be dumb for nearly ten minutes, so uproarious was the demonstration for Grant.) We all glory in the fact that this modest, silent, sensible Republican President, who was always true to his friends, his party and his country, is the recipient of an unending series of honors and ovations such as no American citizen ever before received. His triumphs are our triumphs. (Applause.)

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

There is one subject of political discussion which demagogues have magnified unto unseemly proportions. I refer to the incessant cry which is raised that "the Republican party is pledged to reform in the civil service." Hungry expectants of office stand on street corners and shout the shibboleth till they are hoarse and weary. The independent journalist rolls it as a sweet morsel under his tongue, and daily blurts it in the face of a nauseated public. (Slight applause and hisses.) The Sitting Bulls and Crazy Horses of the Tammany tribes incorporate it in their war-whoops, and are persistent in demanding that the most radical schemes for the readjustment of the public service should be rigidly enforced against all Republicans. It is unquestionably true that the Republican party is pledged to integrity in the civil service; and I know of no good Republican who does not intend that it shall faithfully fulfil its pledges. Our disagreement, if there be any, is

involved in the methods of accomplishing the object. As I understand the case, the Republican party is not pledged to any plan of civil service reform which is not practical in its bearings and general in its application, equally applicable to every State of the Union, and every department of the Government; as binding upon the Cabinet officer as upon the tide-waiter; as earnestly opposed to political favoritism in high places as well as in the low. The Republican party is not pledged to any system of civil service reform which abridges, in any degree, the rights guaranteed to every American citizen by the Constitution of the United States and the laws. The Republican party is not pledged to any plan of civil service reform which most practical men are sincere in believing will demoralize and destroy the organization and result in the triumphs of that old party of spoils and plunder, whose past career and present course, wherever it holds sway, denominate it to be the inveterate foe of reform.

(Those who have recently read the speech remark: "Did you deliver it to-day, you would apply its lashes to Hughes.")

Practical reform was what was promised, and that alone is what the country demands—the same kind of methods which the business man would adopt for the regulation of his factory, or the railroad superintendent for the management of his employees. Make heads of bureaus responsible for the efficiency of their departments, and permit

them to select their own subordinates. Appoint men to office who are honest, capable and faithful; promote only for merit and remove only for cause. By some sensible system, honestly and rigidly enforced, our pledges will be fulfilled, and the civil service improved and the party strengthened.

THE SOUTHERN QUESTION

It would be worse than folly to attempt to disguise the disagreeable fact to which I have before made allusion, that the present is a most critical period in the history of our party. The clouds which obscure the horizon are black and threatening, and the friends of freedom have good cause for doubt and despondency. The chief cause for discouragement is found in the perilous situation of political affairs in the South. For the first time since the war, we are confronted with the stern reality of the Southern States in solid phalanx for the support of their political confederates, the Democratic party. We behold the Republican organization in nearly every Southern State demoralized, paralyzed and practically crushed out. The promised disintegration of the Democratic hosts, which was to follow a liberal distribution of Federal offices, and a policy confiding and effusive, is far in the dim future. It requires no gift of second sight to discern that, even with the widest divisions of the dominant party in the South, no resurrection there of any party by the name of Republican is

within the range of probability. To-day the Hamptons, Hills and Lamars will caress the hands that restore them to power, but vote the Democratic to-morrow and forever. They publicly praise a Republican President because, as they express it, "he has done all that Mr. Tilden could have done" to comfort and reconcile them; and still, I fear, will persist in the persecution of loyal citizens and Republicans. (I referred to President Hayes' supplanting in office sterling Republicans with rabid Democrats.)

The South is too shrewd to suffer itself to be divided, either by official inducements or conciliatory caresses. They clearly appreciate the fact that Democratic success in the next national campaign means a restoration of Southern supremacy in the nation. They are human; they are cunning; they are solid, and I fear will remain so. But, fellow Republicans, all this only demonstrates the vital importance of maintaining and perpetuating the Republican party in the North. It is no time to relax or despond. Do not dream for a moment that the mission of the Republican party is ended, or confess that we do not possess the strength and vigor to cope successfully with our old adversary.

It is of paramount importance that New York should be restored to her former proud position of Republican supremacy. It can be done. The Republicans of the Empire State always have shown themselves equal to every great emergency.

Let every man of us take home the consequences which Democratic success involves. Let us bear in mind that New York will be needed to avert national disaster. As goes New York, so goes the Union. What we do now and here is not for a day, but for all time. We can afford to be moderate; we can afford to be magnanimous.

Let us sink self and save the country. Let us forget all differences, bury our animosities and strike hands as in the good old days of yore against the common enemy, for the public good. Let us build a platform strong enough and broad enough to hold all the Republicans and to command the confidence of good men of all parties. Let us make a ticket of men whose past lives and records are guarantees to all people of honest administration and lofty patriotism.

Curtis and other Hayes zealots were, throughout the 1877 campaign, unmercifully execrated by the Republican anti-administration newspapers of the State. Somehow or other I was held responsible for the caricatures of Curtis and Hayes in the Elmira *Advertiser,* October 6, 1877.

"THAT BOY CURTIS"

Once upon a time, a smart boy named Curtis, who parted his hair in the middle like a girl, and lived in a nice house, which had a snug front yard with a high picket fence around it, used to spend

his leisure hours in amusing himself by throwing stones at the passers-by.

Three or four maiden aunts and a fond mother and a grandmother or two, all sat in the parlors of this nice house, and with nods of approval encouraged the boy Curtis in his pastime of throwing stones at the passers, especially as he sought to hit a tanner boy named Grant, and a red-headed boy named Conkling, whose business frequently brought them down that street, and which boys were disliked by the prim and self-satisfied women who sat in the parlors.

One day, young Curtis having grown bold by the encouragement of a new policeman in the neighborhood, named Hayes, went out on the street, away some distance from the high picket fence and the protection of his women folks. He espied the boy Conkling coming along, and thought he would just "shy" one stone at his old acquaintance, and trust to the high fence, the women folks and the new policeman for protection.

But as ill luck would have it, Conkling caught the smart, nice boy before he could reach the gate to the front yard, or the new policeman came up, and gave young Curtis a most unmerciful flogging, so that he presented a forlorn and dilapidated appearance. Young Curtis, as soon as he could get up out of the mud where Conkling had left him, ran into the front yard with a bloody nose and a black eye, and set up a terrible yelling, which brought to the door all the women folks of the

nice house, including aunts, mothers and grandmothers, who likewise set up a howl and wail of anguish at the sad plight of their young prodigy.

They all declared it was an outrage to allow such awful boys as Conkling to come down their street. Nothing will satisfy the injured feelings of these offended females and restore the boy Curtis to good nature, unless the neighboring women assist them in holding indignation meetings, passing resolutions against the boy Conkling, and delivering scolding speeches at the passers-by.

The indignation and scolding meetings are still going on, and Curtis, with a doleful whine and bandaged hand and face, still sits like a young martyr in the front yard; but Conkling, the red-headed boy, passes along the street whistling lively tunes, but unmolested either by boy or women on the other side of the high picket fence; and even the new policeman, Hayes, has as yet taken no notice of the outrageous flogging administered by Conkling to Curtis. So mote it be.

Two years later, in 1879, despite continued attacks of the Hayes administration upon the State organization, and with the help of the John Kelly-Tammany Hall bolt against the renomination of Governor Lucius Robinson, we succeeded in making Alonzo B. Cornell Governor. The entire Republican State ticket was elected, and the party held a majority in the Legislature for the first period since war times.

HAYES A PROTOTYPE OF GOVERNOR HUGHES

Hayes was quite a prototype of Governor Hughes, though his flowing whiskers were of a more blond hue. He was a good deal of the same physical build and mental temperament. Though nominated and elected as a Republican, he sought to forget it in office. He had strong convictions but narrow views, on a narrow basis. He was not enough of a politician to swim out when he found himself in deep water. He was the first President to claim that he was better than his party. And yet no man was ever so much indebted to a party as he. He was made President because of the great fight conducted by his party managers to secure the electoral votes of Louisiana, Florida and South Carolina, after they had been stolen for Tilden. After he got in by the votes of these States, he betrayed the Republican State governments to the Democrats by undoing the Reconstruction acts of President Grant and the Federal Government. I have said that temperamentally he reminded me of Hughes. But he did not possess the intellectuality of the present Governor of New York. He had a habit of receiving you courteously, doing all the talking, and then telling people that you agreed with everything he said. Some Republican leaders have regretted very much that they ever fought to seat Hayes. I should have regretted my part in this but for the fact that I ever desired that the Republican party should win, even if a

representative of that party chose to prove recreant and ungrateful.

Like Hughes, Hayes accepted the bounty of his party, and then refused to recognize any obligations to that party. George William Curtis was his guiding star. Hayes retired with the friendship of few except those who had fought the party inside and outside. He was rarely heard of after he turned the Presidency over to Garfield, except when the newspapers printed stories about his chicken-farm.

Toward the close of the Hayes régime, I became secretary and director and then president of the U. S. Express Company. I had practically made up my mind never again to hold public office, when Governor Cornell insisted that I become president of the Board of Quarantine Commissioners. As then constituted, it was a powerful body, and I unwillingly accepted a place on it, with the understanding that I should go on with my private business.

JAMES A. GARFIELD

CHAPTER V

1879-1880

A "Three-Hundred-and-Sixer"—Why I supported Grant for a third term—Gallant but fruitless struggle of followers of the "Appomattox Hero"—How Garfield and Arthur were nominated—Spectacular incidents of the Chicago convention.

So UNPOPULAR had the Hayes administration become with the Republicans in New York in 1879, that they determined to oppose the President for renomination. Our State convention, believing that General Grant had proved a splendid Executive for two terms, and that Hayes had proved an unworthy one, instructed the delegation to Chicago in 1880 to fight first, last and all the time for Grant.

Here let me say that I formed a tender friendship for General Grant from the day I met him first personally in the early seventies, while I was serving in Congress.

GRANT, WARRIOR AND PEACEMAKER

General Grant was just of below medium height. He was of stocky build and broad-shouldered.

Iron jaws and rigid lips exemplified indomitable pluck, grim courage and determination. A beard, usually cropped close, hair sprinkled with silvery strands, steady, piercing eyes, a Roman nose, the nostrils dilating when the man was aroused, characterized his personal appearance.

Grant cared little for dress. As in the army he preferred to forget gold lace and epaulets, and go about in a careless uniform and dilapidated slouch hat, so even as President he wore the plainest clothing. Frequently have I known him to jam the omnipresent big black cigar between his teeth, slip out of the White House by a back exit, and pace alone for miles up and down sequestered Washington streets, endeavoring to solve the great problems of state confronting him. Though I always found Grant approachable and courteous, he talked little except in monosyllables, listened intently, carefully analyzed every suggestion, and having once made up his mind, all the king's horses and all the king's men could not swerve him.

He was the most modest, unassuming man in high station I can recall. He was grateful as a child, trustful of and devoted to friends, hurt to the quick if they proved unworthy, and perhaps of too forgiving spirit in the treatment of his traducers. He was great and magnanimous as commander of the Union armies, greater as President, and as a citizen of the Republic shone with a luster that challenged the admiration of the world.

No wonder Grant is immortalized!

My friend, General James S. Clarkson, thus bears testimony to my services to General Grant when, in 1884, the former President was suffering mental agony:

"Platt was taken deeply into the confidence and friendship of President Grant—a friendship that lasted until General Grant's death. And it showed itself as having been safely reposed when, in the troublous days of the great soldier and his sons, in their financial fiasco in New York, Mr. Platt came to their help and saved them all from humiliation and injury that time itself could never have cured, nor the official power of the nation averted. This version came to the writer direct from General Grant himself during close party association in the campaign for Blaine in 1884, one of the darkest and saddest years in the general's history; when poverty was at his door, and himself and his deeds apparently forgotten by the American people.

"In conversation then, the great hero, who had early seen the worth of Mr. Platt and taken him to his heart as a friend, said he had received such help from Mr. Platt as he had never received from any one in his whole life. This faithfulness to friendship in loyal response to friendship, early shown to him, continued in its help to the sons after the general's death in such measure as they only know."

WE FIGHT AND LOSE FOR GRANT

There is no public act of which I am prouder than of having been a member of the famous band of "Three Hundred and Six," who fought and lost because of their devotion to the chief magistrate who served so admirably from 1869 to 1873. As in the State convention of 1877, so in the National convention of 1880, Roscoe Conkling was a colossal and commanding figure. One of his first acts in that convention was to offer a resolution which had been urged by the New York delegation, and which ran like this:

Resolved: As the sense of this convention, that every member of it is bound in honor to support the nominee, whoever that nominee may be; and that no man should hold a seat here who is not ready so to agree.

This of course was aimed at certain Hayes delegates, who had openly threatened to bolt Grant in case he were nominated. The late Senator George F. Hoar, who was in the chair, had just declared the resolution adopted, when Mr. Brandegee, of Connecticut, expressed doubt and demanded a roll call of States.

Senator Conkling sarcastically said: "Plainly and audibly to me and to others, negative votes were given on this resolution. I ask the chair to call the roll, that we may know who it is in Re-

publican convention that votes 'No' on such a pledge."

The roll call disclosed 716 votes for the Conkling resolution, and only 3 against.

Senator Conkling then submitted this resolution:

That the delegates who have voted that they will not abide the action of the convention do not deserve and have forfeited their votes in this convention.

GARFIELD THE DARK HORSE

The three negative votes on the previous resolution had been cast by West Virginia. Mr. Campbell, of that State, vigorously protested against the second resolution. General James A. Garfield, of Ohio, who eventually was the nominee for President, but whose name had hardly been whispered, was quite vehement in his opposition.

Senator Conkling, even while Garfield was speaking against the resolution, wrote a note reading:

"I congratulate you upon being the dark horse."

When General Garfield ceased speaking, Conkling handed the note to John D. Lawson, better known as "Sitting Bull," and said: "Please give this to General Garfield."

Conkling had thus early scented defeat for Grant and victory for Garfield. But we Grant men had sworn to die with our boots on. Conkling finally consented to withdraw the second resolu-

tion. After three days of preliminary wire-pulling and skirmishing, the balloting for candidates for President began.

Mr. Joy named James G. Blaine, of Maine, as the choice of Michigan. Messrs. Pixley, of California, and Frye, of Maine, followed with seconds. Mr. Drake presented the name of William Windom, of Minnesota. When Senator Conkling arose to propose Grant, the enthusiasm became tremendous and overpowering. Not only the "Three Hundred and Six," but the great majority of spectators in the galleries joined in a demonstration that was simply indescribable.

Conkling mounted a reporters' table. He was in magnificent voice. Those in the most distant corners of the great auditorium distinctly heard every word he uttered.

The Senator had a habit of clearly pronouncing his vowels. That made it easy for his voice to carry a long distance. As the speech delivered by Conkling that memorable day is generally accepted as his greatest short address, it is worthy of preservation.

CONKLING PRESENTS GRANT

There was pandemonium that continued twenty minutes when Conkling dramatically began:

> When asked what State he hails from,
> Our sole reply shall be,
> He comes from Appomattox,
> And its famous apple tree.

The frenzied cheering that greeted this sentiment had hardly subsided when Senator Conkling resumed:

In obedience to instructions I should never dare disregard, expressing also my own firm convictions, I rise to propose a nomination with which the country, and the Republican party, can grandly win.

The election before us is to be the Austerlitz of American politics. It will decide for many years whether the country shall be Republican or Cossack. The supreme need of the hour is not a candidate who can carry Michigan. All Republican candidates can do that. The need is not of a candidate who is popular in the territories, because they have no votes. The need is of a candidate who can carry the doubtful States—not the doubtful States of the North alone, but the doubtful States of the South, which we have heard, if I understand it aright, ought to take little or no part here, because the South has nothing to give, but everything to receive.

No, gentlemen, the need that presses upon the conscience of the convention is of a candidate who can carry doubtful States, North and South. And believing that he, more surely than any other man, can carry New York against any opponent, and can carry not only the North, but several States of the South, New York is for Ulysses S.

Grant. Never defeated in peace or war, his name is the most illustrious borne by living man.

(There was an outburst of mad enthusiasm at this that shook the convention hall.)

His services attest his greatness, and the country—nay, the world—knows them by heart. His fame was earned, not alone in things written and said, but by the arduous greatness of things done. And perils and emergencies will search in vain in the future, as they have searched in vain in the past, for any other on whom the nation leans with such confidence and trust. Never having had a policy to enforce against the will of the people, he never betrayed the cause of a friend; and the people will never desert or betray him. Standing on the highest eminence of human distinction, modest, firm, simple and self-poised, having filled all lands with his renown, he has seen not only the high-born and the titled, but the poor and the lowly in the uttermost ends of the earth, rise and uncover before him. He has studied the needs and the defects of many systems of government, and he has returned a better American than ever, with a wealth of knowledge and experience added to the hard common sense which shone so conspicuously in all the fierce light that beat upon him during sixteen years, the most trying, the most portentous, the most perilous in the nation's history.

Vilified and reviled, ruthlessly aspersed by unnumbered presses, not in other lands, but in his own, assaults upon him have seasoned and strength-

ened his hold upon the public heart. Calumny's ammunition has all been exploded; the powder has all been burned once; its force is spent; and the name of Grant will glitter a bright and imperishable star in the diadem of the Republic when those who have tried to tarnish that name have moldered in forgotten graves, and when their memories and their epitaphs have vanished utterly.

(Conkling had in mind the groundless charges that Grant was implicated in the whisky ring and Star Route postal frauds.)

Never elated by success, never depressed by adversity, he has ever, in peace and in war, shown the genius of common sense. The terms he prescribed for Lee's surrender foreshadowed the wisest prophecies and principles of true reconstruction. Victor in the greatest war of modern times, he quickly signalized his aversion to war and his love of peace by an arbitration of internal disputes, which stands as the wisest, the most majestic example of its kind in the world's diplomacy. When inflation, at the height of its popularity and frenzy, had swept both Houses of Congress, it was the veto of Grant which, single and alone, overthrew expansion and cleared the way for specie resumption. To him, immeasurably more than to any other man, is due the fact that every paper dollar is at last as good as gold.

With him as our leader we shall have no defensive campaign. No! We shall have nothing to explain away. We shall have no apologies to

make. The shafts and the arrows have all been aimed at him, and they lie broken and harmless at his feet.

Life, liberty and property will find a safeguard in him. When he said of the colored men in Florida, "Wherever I am, they may come also"—when he so said, he meant that, had he the power, the poor dwellers in the cabins of the South should no longer be driven in terror from the homes of their childhood and the graves of their murdered dead. When he refused to see Dennis Kearney in California, he meant that communism, lawlessness and disorder, although it might stalk high-handed and dictate law to a whole city, would always find a foe in him. He meant that, popular or unpopular, he would hew to the line of right, let the chips fly where they may.

His integrity, his common sense, his courage, his unequaled experience, are the qualities offered to his country. The only argument, the only one that the wit of man or the stress of politics has devised, is one which would dumbfound Solomon, because he thought there was nothing new under the sun. Having tried Grant twice and found him faithful, we are told that we must not, even after an interval of years, trust him again.

My countrymen! my countrymen! what stultification does not such a fallacy involve! The American people excluded Jefferson Davis from public trust. Why? Why? Because he was the arch-traitor and would-be destroyer; and now the same

people are asked to ostracize Grant and not to trust him. Why? Why? I repeat: because he was the arch-preserver of his country, and because, not only in war, but twice as civil magistrate, he gave his highest, noblest efforts to the Republic. Is this an electioneering juggle, or is it hypocrisy's masquerade? There is no field of human activity, responsibility or reason in which rational beings object to an agent because he has been weighed in the balance and not found wanting. There is, I say, no department of human reason in which sane men reject an agent because he has had experience, making him exceptionally competent and fit. From the man who shoes your horse, to the lawyer who tries your cause, the officer who manages your railway or your mill, the doctor into whose hands you give your life, or the minister who seeks to save your soul, what man do you reject because by his works you have known him and found him faithful and fit? What makes the Presidential office an exception to all things else in the common sense to be applied to selecting its incumbent? Who dares—who dares to put fetters on that free choice and judgment, which is the birthright of the American people? Can it be said that Grant has used official power and place to perpetuate his term? He has no place, and official power has not been used for *him*. Without patronage and without emissaries, without committees, without bureaux, without telegraph wires running from his house to this convention, or running from

his house anywhere else, this man is the candidate whose friends have never threatened to bolt unless this convention said as they said. He is a Republican who never wavers. He and his friends stand by the creed and the candidates of the Republican party. They hold the rightful rule of the majority as the very essence of their faith, and they mean to uphold that faith against, not only the common enemy, but against the charlatans, jay hawkers, tramps and guerillas—the men who deploy between the lines and forage now on one side and then on the other. (Again did Conkling have Curtis and his adherents in mind.)

This convention is master of a supreme opportunity. It can name the next President. It can make sure of his election. It can make sure not only of his election, but of his certain and peaceful inauguration. More than all, it can break that power which dominates and mildews the South. It can overthrow an organization whose very existence is a standing protest against progress.

The purpose of the Democratic party is spoils. Its very hope of existence is the solid South. Its success is a menace to order and prosperity. I say this convention can overthrow that power. It can speed the nation in a career of grandeur, eclipsing all past achievements.

Gentlemen, we have only to listen above the din, and look beyond the dust of an hour, to behold the Republican party, advancing with its ensign resplendent with illustrious achievements, marching

to certain and lasting victory with its greatest marshal at its head.

Ten thousand leathern-lunged men shouted their acclaims at Conkling as he retired.

The Chicago *Inter-Ocean,* in commenting on the speech, declared: "The play of sarcasm, the flash of scorn, the saber-cuts of severity, and all the pageantry of eloquence were used to help Grant. The address had the warmth, the eulogy, the finish of a poem, the force and fire of a philippic. Grant was in every line of it. His spirit breathed in every sentence, his personality lived and moved in the smooth insistence of the magic words, and stood revealed in the climax of the peroration."

Mr. Bradley, of Kentucky, afterward Governor and U. S. Senator, seconded the nomination of Grant in an eloquent address.

Then Garfield presented John Sherman, of Ohio.

SHERMAN, THE ICICLE

Apropos of John Sherman, I never hear his name mentioned but I recall an experience I had soon after he published a book in which he said some rather hard things about me. Sherman was popularly regarded as a human icicle. I remembered this one day when I very reluctantly yielded to the persuasions of my family and sat to Artist Whipple for my portrait.

Just in front of me hung a recently finished picture of Sherman. I turned up my coat collar.

Whipple came up from behind and turned it down. I shivered, and with a glance at the face of Garfield's and Hayes' friend, remarked:

"Well! well! I can hardly believe that John Sherman's portrait would have raised my choler like that!"

Frederick Billings, of Vermont, presented the name of George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, while J. B. Cassoday, of Wisconsin, named Elihu Washburne, of Illinois.

Brandegee, of Connecticut, in according the nomination of Washburne, delivered an argument against a third term for Grant. He addressed Senator Conkling in this way: "Let me tell the gentleman from New York that he cannot sit down at the ear of every voter and give the argument he has given to-night against the traditions of our fathers. He may by the magic of his eloquence take this convention and the galleries off their feet in his fervor. But even his great abilities, even his unmatched eloquence, cannot go down to the fireside of every voter and persuade them that all the traditions of the fathers with reference to a third term are but humbug and masquerade. Does he not know that his candidate would be on the defensive, that even the magic name of Grant can hardly carry him in this convention? Does he not know—no one knows so well as he—that the name of Grant would carry this convention through by storm, if there were not an invincible argument against his nomination?"

The placing of candidates in nomination consumed the better part of June 6, the fourth day of the convention. An adjournment was then ordered until morning. All night the "Three Hundred and Six" labored to strengthen their position. They fought against a combination whose cries were, "Anything to beat Grant," and "No third term."

Three hundred and seventy-eight votes were required to nominate. The anti-third termers united to prevent us from getting the seventy-two we needed. On the morning of June 7, the first ballot was taken. It showed Grant with 304; Blaine, 284; Sherman, 93; Edmunds, 34; Washburne, 30; and Windom, 10. New York cast 51 votes for Grant, 17 for Blaine, and 2 for Sherman, except on the seventeenth ballot, when Grant lost 1 and Blaine gained 1.

During the day, delegates from various States called upon Conkling and offered to support him if he would desert Grant. He angrily spurned the suggestion, replying: "I am here as the agent of New York to support General Grant to the end. Any man who would forsake him under such conditions does not deserve to be elected and could not be elected."

GARFIELD NOMINATED

On the sixth day we mustered 313 votes for Grant, and some thought that the Grant stampede had begun. They were mistaken. On the thirty-sixth ballot the break to Garfield came. New York

gave him 20 of her 70 votes. The total was 399. Grant got 306; Blaine, 42; Washburne, 5; and Sherman, 3.

Senator Conkling moved to make the nomination of Garfield unanimous, and the convention adopted his suggestion. Chester A. Arthur, of New York, was made the nominee for Vice-President. The convention then adjourned and we started for our homes.

So great was the vilification of General Grant prior to and during the convention, that I could not forbear to express my own opinion of it quite frequently. I recall being asked by a newspaper correspondent what I thought of the calumny heaped upon the former President. My answer was this: "Great men must expect unjust criticism, unwarranted abuse and unmitigated calumny. Supporters of General Grant should bear in mind that Thomas Jefferson, the beloved idol and oracle of Democracy, was unmercifully pelted with mud-balls and stale eggs by the Sumners and Schurzs of the period. The fact is, that a public man who fails to incur the contumely and jealous hate of his contemporaries may be counted as a political pigmy. Let no such man dream of being President."

MY BROTHERS, THE "THREE HUNDRED AND SIX"

No eulogy of mine or other mortal man could adequately reflect the love and veneration which

I possessed for Grant, and affection and admiration I have always felt for the other three hundred and five who struggled to the death for him at Chicago in 1880. Thirteen years later, at a time when the nation and New York State were in the hands of our political opponents, and it seemed all but hopeless that we could retrieve the disasters which had befallen us in 1890, 1891 and 1892, I was reminded anew of the achievements of the "Three Hundred and Six," and the peerless leader for whom they battled, when I received the annual invitation to participate in the dinner we were accustomed to give to celebrate the event. A search through my archives fails to reveal any more appropriate tribute to Grant that ever fell from my pen than a letter I wrote in 1893 to Thomas J. Powers, secretary of the "Three Hundred and Six" band at Philadelphia. It ran as follows:

April 24, 1893.

Hon. Thomas J. Powers, Secretary, Philadelphia, Pa.

My Dear Sir: I find this morning that a combination of circumstances will compel me to leave vacant my chair at the reunion of the "Old Guard" to-morrow evening. I regret this more than I have words to express. On such an occasion, and at such a crisis in the affairs of the Republican party, there should be no vacant chairs except those made so by death. Looking over the list, I mark the deep gaps that the dread Reaper

has left in our lines. One by one they have fallen by the wayside; but, though absent, they live in our memories. They died as they lived, true to their friends, true to the trust reposed in them, noble exemplars of all that is glorious in manhood or grand in the principles of the National Republican party.

The gathering to-morrow night will be to celebrate the great event and to look back at our action on that memorable day without a change of front. We have nothing to regret, nothing to apologize for. Our chosen leader then, if he were alive, would be our chosen leader still. The result of thirteen years of demoralization, mingled with defeat, has confirmed the wisdom of our choice on that day; and I hail the old comrades of that convention with more than a brother's love, the faithful remnant of the glorious "Three Hundred and Six."

In our complex form of government, there must be political parties; and it is well for the nation that these parties should be equally divided, each of these parties holding in its organization some of the best men in the land. If parties are necessary to united, intelligent action, leaders are necessary to direct its course and lead them on to victory.

To insure success, there must be perfect confidence between the soldier and his commander; succeed in destroying that and there can be no Appomattox, every battle becoming a Bull Run.

Three years from next fall we shall find ourselves in the midst of another Presidential conflict, which I believe will be the most bitter and fierce that the nation has seen since the war. To us who love our country and believe in the perpetuity of Republican principles, what is the solemn duty of the hour? No matter how high the character, how pure the principle, how exalted the patriotism of a single man, it counts for nothing in a national conflict. To make his principles, his honesty and his patriotism available, he must act in harmony with other men who think and act as he does. It is only by united action, well considered and skilfully directed, that even the most righteous cause can expect success.

Three years from this time, those of us who still survive will again be called upon to act, and the present moment is none too early to prepare for the coming conflict.

The late triumphant Democracy already shows signs of dissolution. Meanwhile, the Republicans, profiting by needed experience and chastened by disaster, should steadily close up their ranks and prepare for the coming struggle. If my voice could reach to-night every State in the American Union, from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Maine to the Gulf, I would say, close up your ranks, forget your past dissensions, put the memory of past personal conflicts behind you. Let the dead past bury its dead. The ever-living present claims you now. The principles that triumphed

so gloriously from '61 to '91 still live as grand and as glorious as ever. To you, their stalwart apostles and supporters, is entrusted a nation's honor and a nation's life.

I wish I might look in your faces, my brothers, as my heart swells with memories of the past. True as the steel of a Damascus blade, faithful even unto death, weighed in the balance and never found wanting, you are saying to your fellow Republicans throughout the land, take example by the Old Guard; stand together! So doing, if we succeed, we triumph because we deserve to win; and if we fail, we will enjoy the proud consciousness of having done our whole duty to our party and our country.

THE "THREE HUNDRED AND SIX" ROSTER

Were the roll of the "Old Three Hundred and Six Guard" to be called this minute, scarcely a corporal's following would answer to their names. Death has cut down the great majority of those who so valiantly battled for Grant. I can recall only seven members of the New York delegation, besides myself, who are on earth. They are Benjamin F. Tracy, Levi P. Morton, Louis F. Payn, Charles E. Cornell, Isaac V. Baker, Jr., General James Jourdan and Bernard Biglin.

These have been gathered to their fathers: Chester A. Arthur, Roscoe Conkling, James D. Warren, Edwards Pierrepont, Jacob M. Patter-

son, John J. O'Brien, Stephen B. French, Jacob Hess, George H. Sharpe, Rufus H. King, James J. Belden, Chester S. Cole, James R. Davies, Dewitt C. Wheeler, Thomas Murphy, Jacob Worth, Jacob W. Hoysradt, Pierre C. Van Wyck, John D. Lawson, Amos F. Learned, Frederick A. Schroeder, Charles Blaikie, Henry R. Pierson, Charles P. Easton, John M. Francis, W. W. Rockwell, David Wilber, William H. Comstock, Edward H. Shelley, George M. Case, Charles L. Kennedy, John B. Murray, Francis O. Mason, George M. Hicks, Orlew W. Chapman, Charles J. Langdon, Edward A. Frost, Henry A. Bruner, George G. Hoskins, John E. Pound, Ray V. Pierce and John Nice.

All of these, for thirty-five ballots, stood like the rock of Gibraltar, faithful to their idol, and went down with their colors nailed to the mast. They participated in a display of devotion unprecedented in American politics. That I should have outlived all but seven of the fifty heroes—for they were heroes—few would have believed if they had gazed upon the strong, healthy, militant Empire State representatives, as they stood in solid phalanx at Chicago in 1880. They stuck to Grant as Grant stuck to Lee. But Grant whipped Lee. We could not whip a majority of the delegates to the National Convention.

Lest we forget, let me add to the list of brave boys from New York those from other States who joined in the unsuccessful contest.

THE DISTINGUISHED DEAD

The most distinguished of them are dead—notably, General John A. Logan, of Illinois, and Matthew S. Quay, of Pennsylvania.

Here is the roll by States:

Alabama—George Turner, Ben S. Turner, J. A. Thomasson, G. M. Braxdall, James Gillette, Allen Alexander, Paul Strobach, G. W. Washington, Isaac Heyman, W. Youngblood, W. J. Stevens, Winfield S. Bird, N. W. Trimble, J. M. Hinds, A. W. McCullough.

Arkansas—S. W. Dorsey, Powell Clayton, M. W. Gibbs, H. B. Robinson, O. P. Snyder, J. H. Johnson, O. A. Hadley, Jacob Treiber, Ferdinand Havis, S. H. Holland, J. K. Barnes, J. A. Barnes.

Colorado—John L. Routt, La Fayette Head, Amos Steck, John A. Ellet, M. M. Magone, J. T. Blake.

Florida—W. W. Hicks, V. J. Shipman, Sherman Conant, Joseph E. Lee, Reuben S. Smith, F. C. Humphries, E. I. Alexander, James Dean.

Georgia—L. B. Toomer, Floyd Snelson, B. F. Brinberry, John Few, Jack Brown, Elbert Head, S. A. Darnelle, Madison Davis.

Illinois—John A. Logan, Emory A. Storrs, Green B. Raum, D. T. Littler, A. M. Wright, R. S. Tuthill, E. F. Bull, E. W. Willard, J. B. Wilson, R. J. Hanna, O. B. Hamilton, T. G. Black, G. M. Brinkerhoff, C. M. Eames, John V. Harris, J. W. Haworth, W. H. Barlow, Alvin P. Green, J. N.

Truit, Lewis Kreughoff, J. M. Davis, C. O. Patier, C. W. Pavey, W. H. Williams.

Indiana—Clem Studebaker.

Kansas—T. C. Sears, S. A. Day, T. J. Anderson, John M. Steele.

Kentucky—Walter Evans, W. O. Bradley, John D. White, John H. Jackson, John H. Puryear, James H. Happy, Albert H. Clark, W. G. Hunter, George T. Blakeley, E. H. Hobson, John W. Lewis, Silas F. Miller, James F. Buckner, Jr., Richard P. Stoll, John K. Faulkner, A. E. Adams, A. T. Wood, W. W. Culbertson, Morris C. Hutchins, Logan McKee.

Louisiana—William Pitt Kellogg, James Lewis, John T. Ludeling, Richard Simms, William Harper, J. S. Matthews, David Young, J. H. Burch.

Maryland—Jacob Tome, J. A. J. Creswell, D. Pinkney West, W. W. Johnson, W. J. Hooper, Dr. H. J. Brown.

Massachusetts—Azariah Eldridge, F. A. Hobart, George S. Boutwell, George A. Marden.

Michigan—William G. Thompson.

Minnesota—D. Sinclair, C. F. Kindred.

Mississippi—Blanche K. Bruce, H. C. Carter, W. H. Kennon, George C. McKee, Joshua R. Smith, George W. Gayles, W. W. Bell.

Missouri—Chauncey I. Filley, R. T. Van Horn, H. E. Havens, David Wagner, Nicholas Berg, John A. Weber, T. B. Rodgers, John H. Pohlman, Thomas G. Allen, William Ballantine, James A. Lindsay, Hamilton E. Baker, T. A. Lowe, Robert

C. McBeth, W. E. Maynard, A. G. Hollenbeck, W. J. Terrell, L. C. Stevens, N. F. Essig, Thomas D. Neal, George Hall, T. J. Whiteman, H. N. Cook, H. M. Hiller, J. E. Adams, R. A. Buckner, Stuart Carkener, A. D. Jaynes.

Nevada—C. C. Stevenson, J. J. Meigs.

North Carolina—Isaac J. Young, Thomas B. Keogh, J. W. Hardein, O. J. Spears, T. N. Cooper.

Pennsylvania—Matthew S. Quay, J. Hay Brown, C. L. Magee, W. J. Pollock, David H. Lane, David Mouat, Thomas J. Powers, William L. Smith, Adam Albright, Chester N. Fair, A. J. Kauffman, W. K. Seltzer, S. Y. Thompson, J. J. Albright, Samuel A. Losch, W. S. Moorehead, J. Donald Cameron, C. H. Bergner, William H. Armstrong, Thomas L. Lane, John Cessna, David Over, James Hersh, John Hays, James A. Beaver, George F. Huff, S. M. Baily, W. C. Moreland, James A. McDevitt, William B. Rodgers, James H. Lindsay, J. R. Harrah, Joseph Buffington, John I. Gordon, Charles M. Read, Harrison Allen.

South Carolina—E. M. Brayton, W. A. Hayne, W. N. Taft, C. C. Bowen, W. M. Fine, S. T. Pointer, W. J. Whipper, W. F. Meyers.

Tennessee—L. C. Houck, H. H. Harrison, J. N. Thornburgh, J. M. Cordell, W. S. Tipton, W. T. Cate, J. S. Smith, William H. Wisener, S. O. W. Brandon, W. H. Young, A. M. Hughes, Sr., B. A. J. Nixon, E. G. Ridgeley, F. R. Hunt, Larkin Williams.

Texas—E. J. Davis, Webster Flanagan, A. B.

Norton, William Holland, Frank Harwin, J. G. Tracey, G. M. Dilley, William Chambers, W. H. Hakes, C. C. Binkley, D. A. Robinson, W. R. Chase, A. Seimering and three unknown.

Virginia—Peter J. Carter, D. S. Lewis, Joseph Jorgensen, John W. Woltz, L. R. Stewart, Joshua Crump, James D. Brady, W. H. Pleasants, H. C. Harris, W. R. Watkins, F. Ware, John Donovan, L. L. Lewis, W. O. Austin, C. C. Tompkins, J. W. Pointdexter and three unknown.

West Virginia—John H. Rossler.

A more fearless, devoted, gallant body of men never enlisted in any battle. Their feat was absolutely unparalleled in political history. Gen. Grant personally assured me that their fidelity was to him far more gratifying than a third nomination and re-election to the Presidency could have been.

CHAPTER VI

1880-1881

My distrust of Garfield, and the cause—He cries for succor—Terms of the contract to which I forced him to agree in return for New York organization props—Grant, Conkling and I finally save him.

THE friends of General Grant departed from the Chicago convention, after that protracted struggle, sorrowed, disappointed and ugly. Soon thereafter the Democratic convention was held and General Hancock was nominated as their candidate with great unanimity and enthusiasm. The masses of the Democratic party rallied to their work with great cheerfulness and hope. For two months the Hancock boom grew in its proportions. It seemed as if it were sure to sweep the country, and that Garfield's chances of election were growing small by degrees and less every day.

It was generally understood that New York was the pivotal State, and Republican success hinged upon success there. The organization of that party in New York was entirely in the hands of General Grant's friends. The chairman of the State committee was the candidate for Vice-President,

Chester A. Arthur, of New York. I was the chairman of the executive committee. Both of us belonged to the "Three Hundred and Six" who had so stubbornly insisted upon Grant's candidacy.

GARFIELD ELOQUENT, BUT UNTRUSTWORTHY

Both Conkling and I distrusted the Republican candidate for President. Garfield was strong intellectually, but he lacked moral courage. He was perhaps the ablest parliamentarian in Congress, a born orator, and could sway the multitude as no other man of his day could. He demonstrated that while on the stump during the Presidential campaign of 1880, and even earlier, when he uttered the celebrated phrase, "God reigns and the Government at Washington still lives," at a time when the North seemed panic-stricken over the assassination of President Lincoln.

Garfield was leonine in stature, slow in motion, wore a full beard, as did President Hayes and as Governor Hughes does, and was a most attractive man to meet. He was prone to raise expectations that were rarely fulfilled. He was of an emotional and religious nature, and religious people, therefore—particularly those who did not know him personally—were inclined to believe in him. His desertion, in Chicago, of John Sherman, to whose Presidential candidacy he was pledged, had been typically Garfieldesque.

Up to the 1st of August, 1880, no steps had been

taken by the State committee to do any work or perfect any plans, so thoroughly were they disheartened and demoralized. The friends of Garfield saw how desperate his fortunes were growing, and that some immediate remedy must be applied or the canvass would go by default. They saw that it was necessary to pacify, appease and arouse Senator Conkling and his friends; and in order to do this, a meeting must in some way be brought about between Garfield and Conkling. This was a difficult task, because everybody understood that in the state of Conkling's mind it would be absolutely impossible to persuade him to go to Mentor, or even half way there, on such a mission.

CONKLING SPURNS GARFIELD

Ex-Senator Stephen W. Dorsey, who at that time was one of Garfield's confidential friends and close advisers, conceived the plan of bringing Garfield to New York to meet Conkling upon the pretext of a great meeting of the leading Republicans of the country, to be held at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York City, to consult as to ways and to provide means for conducting the campaign. Accordingly, invitations were sent out all over the country to the magnates of the party, summoning them to this conference, which was to take place in August, 1880. This conference was a mere cover and a farce. Dorsey and the other promoters of the

scheme assumed that there could be no doubt that Mr. Conkling would readily consent to be present at the conference, and to holding the interview for the purpose of making terms with the prospective President. In this they were mistaken. Mr. Conkling had planned to come to New York on business two or three days prior to the conference, and then for the first time learned from Mr. Dorsey the proposed plan. He refused absolutely to become a party to it, giving as his private reason that he knew Garfield so well that he would not keep any promise or regard any obligations made and taken under such circumstances, but publicly alleging that he could not become a party to any bargain or treaty which would be surely charged upon him if he remained and took part in the proceedings. However, to satisfy his friends, he assured them that he would abide by their action in whatever they decided to do, and carry out as far as he could consistently their promises, urging great caution and not to trust to verbal promises. Importunities of friends had no effect to dissuade him, and he left New York immediately, leaving no information as to his destination.

THE "BUCKEYE" MAN'S CHAGRIN

Garfield came as arranged. But his chagrin, mortification and indignation, which were manifested (only, of course, to the inner circle) when he found that Conkling was absent and would not

be present, is left to the imagination. Telegrams were sent to various points where it was thought Mr. Conkling might be, explaining the great embarrassment and begging him to return. He went where he knew no importunities could follow.

On the morning of the second day after Garfield's arrival, the meeting was arranged to take place at the rooms occupied by Hon. Levi P. Morton, in the Fifth Avenue Hotel, to bring General Garfield in communication with a few of Mr. Conkling's friends. There were present at that interview General Garfield, General Arthur, Hon. Levi P. Morton, Richard Crowley and myself. There were three primary motives for the consultation: one to pacify Garfield for Conkling's absence; another to have an understanding with General Garfield as to his future relations to and intentions toward the controlling power in the State of New York, viz., the Grant-Conkling "machine"; and thirdly, if the former were arranged to the mutual satisfaction, to adopt ways and means for procuring money to carry on the canvass for the latter purpose. The presence of the Hon. Levi P. Morton was invoked, the scheme being to put Mr. Morton at the head of a special finance committee, consisting of a dozen of the most wealthy and influential bankers and business men, who should be charged with that duty. General Garfield himself had previously urged Mr. Morton to assume that onerous and thankless burden, which up to that time he had refused.

MY TERMS TO GARFIELD

There was an embarrassing silence for a few moments after the above-mentioned gentlemen had taken their seats in Mr. Morton's rooms. It was broken by General Garfield asking why Mr. Conkling was not there, and expressing his disappointment and indignation in strong terms. An effort was then made by all of Mr. Conkling's friends present to convince Mr. Garfield that it was just as well that he was not there; that we were authorized to act for him; that Mr. Conkling's excuse for his absence seemed to us a valid one, and that no charge of bargain, trading or treaty of peace could be charged with him absent. Our combined assurances and arguments seemed to mitigate his wrath, and finally he declared that if we would agree to arrange to have Mr. Conkling make two or three speeches in Ohio at such points as he might designate, he would accept the situation and treat with us as Mr. Conkling's representatives. This settled, the subject which was the one of most vital importance was broached by my saying:

"Mr. Garfield, there seems to be some hesitation on the part of the other gentlemen present to speak; but I might as well say that we are here to speak frankly and talk business. The question we would like to have decided before the work of this campaign commences is whether, if you are elected, we are to have four years more of an administra-

tion similar to that of Rutherford B. Hayes; whether you are going to recognize and reward the men who must do the work in this State, and bear the brunt of the battle in the campaign; or whether you are to counsel with and be guided by the advice of the seventeen men who rebelled from the delegation at Chicago, disobeyed the instructions, and thereby, as is frequently stated, made 'your nomination possible.' If the latter is your purpose, it is our wish to retire from the active work of the canvass and permit you to place in command such men as you may desire and relieve us from all obligation except the usual support of the ticket by all good Republicans. We cannot afford to do the work, and let others reap the reward."

GARFIELD'S PLEDGES

General Garfield replied with great earnestness and at some length. He disavowed having any close relations with the Hayes administration, saying that he had never received any favors or special consideration from Mr. Hayes during his whole term; that he had no sympathy whatever with his Southern policy and did not agree with him in his civil service plans; that he thought that his treatment of Grant and his friends had been unwise and unjust, and otherwise he spoke very disparagingly of Rutherford B. Hayes. He declared that he knew that the dominant power in the State of New York was the friends of Grant

and Conkling; that they were in control of the party machinery; and he could not be elected without their cordial support. He did not want to change the order of things, but desired us to take hold with zeal and energy and insure his election. If this was done, he assured us that the wishes of the element of the party we represented should be paramount with him, touching all questions of patronage. While it would be his duty to give such decent recognition of and show proper gratitude to the rebellious element at Chicago that had rendered his nomination possible, yet, in dispensing those favors, he would consult with our friends and do only what was approved by them. These assurances were oft repeated, and solemnly emphasized, and were accepted and agreed to by all those present.

STIRRING UP THE PEOPLE

Then Mr. Garfield was given the assurance that the canvass which had so languished would be pushed from that moment with the utmost energy and enthusiasm. I myself retired from that conference to make arrangements for a special train over the Erie to pass through the Southern tier of counties to start the boom and stir up the people. I sent telegrams to every point of any consequence along the line, stating the time for arrival of the royal train, and urged the faithful to rally and welcome the distinguished traveler. The

response was magical and wonderful. The people turned out by thousands, and the campaign was enthusiastically inaugurated.

THE COMPACT WITH MORTON

When the general conference broke up, General Garfield and Mr. Morton retired to an inner room for a private interview. The substance and result of that interview as disclosed by Mr. Morton were these: Mr. Morton did not propose to undertake the labor necessary to circulate a subscription and obtain the large amount of money necessary for such a national canvass, without squarely knowing what his future status would be. It was settled that if Mr. Morton would undertake and perform the important work, he should have the option of receiving, if Mr. Garfield were elected, the Secretaryship of the Treasury, the Ministership to England, or should be made the principal financial agent of the Government for funding the bonded debt. Upon this understanding, Mr. Morton went out from those apartments, organized his finance committee, pushed his operations vigorously, and did raise the sinews of war which were vital to the victory that followed.

The campaign in the State of New York was from that moment pushed with most untiring and sleepless energy. No equally exhaustive and "red-hot" canvass was ever before made. The people in both city and country were aroused to the high-

est pitch of enthusiasm. A procession of more than 50,000 men, comprising the various merchants and business men of New York City, paraded the streets, beginning in the early evening and not reaching the close until four o'clock in the morning. Manufacturers were enlisted into a separate organization, and a list of every manufacturing firm, corporation and organization, with the name of every operative, was obtained, and the shops were flooded with every manner of argument to persuade the laboring man. The organization of the party did its whole duty, carried out its agreement with General Garfield, and triumphantly carried the State, thereby saving him from inevitable defeat. It was with some difficulty that the friends of Mr. Conkling were enabled to persuade him to make the promised speeches in Ohio, and it was not until General Grant consented to go with him and also be present at the mass meetings that Mr. Conkling yielded to the demands of his friends.

GARFIELD'S THANKS TO ME

That General Garfield himself was satisfied that the pledges given him at the Fifth Avenue conference were in good faith, and that he returned to his home convinced of the loyalty of the New York Republican organization, he himself bore testimony in a letter to me. Here it is:

Mentor, Ohio. August 17, 1880.

My Dear Platt:

In the hurry of our parting, I did not have time to express adequately my gratitude for your kindness in making such perfect arrangements for our journey. I cannot now think of a single point in all the arrangements that could have been better. The remainder of our journey was a continuation of what you saw, and I hope no mistakes were made and some good done.

Please let me know how things are looking from your end of the line.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. A. Garfield.

Hon. T. C. Platt, State Republican Committee,
New York, N. Y.

GRANT AND CONKLING TO THE RESCUE

It was after delivering an address at Warren that General Grant insisted that Conkling should join with him in a call upon General Garfield at Mentor. The late Senator Simon Cameron arranged the meeting. He had personally warned Garfield that he could not be elected unless Grant and Conkling were with him. Garfield instructed Cameron to go to Warren and urge Conkling to visit him. Conkling pleaded that he must continue to fulfil his contract to speak for the ticket without hindrance. Cameron secured a special train and put Grant and Conkling aboard

it. The party arrived at Mentor in a pouring rain. They drove to the Garfield home. As Conkling stepped out of the carriage, Garfield rushed out from the porch bareheaded, and clasping Conkling in his arms, exclaimed pathetically: "Conkling, you have saved me. Whatever man can do for man that will I do for you!"

Conkling exacted a pledge that in all appointments for the Federal service in New York State, in case of his election, Garfield would consult the U. S. Senators, Vice-President and Governor and State committee, and that he would make no appointments for New York unless they were approved by these officials. To this Garfield agreed.

I saw Conkling on his return. Conkling told me of the pledge. I asked: "Have you any faith in Garfield?"

Conkling made a wry face, sneered, and replied: "Not much, but we will try him out."

"PLATT SAVED GARFIELD"—CLARKSON

To quote General Clarkson again:

"A sullen campaign followed. With Grant naturally hurt, Conkling apparently implacable, and nearly all the Stalwarts in sympathy with him, the party was pitched toward certain defeat, despite the name of Arthur on the ticket as a hostage of good intention to the offended element. Mr. Platt, too, as a further pacification, had been made a member of the party's national committee. It

was Grant and he that set in motion finally the influences that brought the discontented into a better party spirit, and that resulted in Grant and Conkling going to Ohio to speak, and in Platt so organizing the party as to gain the needed votes that saved Garfield's election—a result that could not and would not have been gained without his faithful and powerful help.

"This was the first of the three Republican Presidents who have had their elections saved to them through the party devotion, the personality and the skill in political generalship of Mr. Platt; the undisputed tokens of his power that the pessimists never mention.

"Again there was a movement over the country to have the real victor of the difficult campaign made Postmaster-General in popular recognition of his valuable services. But his own State hurried forward in its own appreciation and gratitude, and in January following elected him to a greater honor of its own, that of U. S. Senator. This took him to Washington to have the strange experience of the President whose election he had saved not only disregarding the advice of Conkling and himself as to the appointments in New York, but putting upon them a name for an important office that was to them such an affront as that of no other man could have been—an act so strange, and an insult so direct, that it drove Platt into resigning and Conkling following his action.

"This was a mistake for Platt, for Conkling,

and for New York. For it took Platt for sixteen years out of the position of power in which to serve his State and the nation; and ended forever the great career of Conkling, and left him to die with a bitterness of spirit that the country regretted as much as himself. Yet it was a manly and self-respecting motive, and a just indignation, both in a personal and political sense, that led Mr. Platt into doing it, and Mr. Conkling into following him.

ROSCOE CONKLING

CHAPTER VII

1881-1882

My first contest for the Senate as a Stalwart—Garfield repudiates the preëlection covenant of 1880—What impelled Conkling and myself to resent this and resign—Methods employed by the Federal administration to prevent our reelection—How we were beaten—Lou Payn, the seer—Horrifying situation produced by the killing of Garfield—Distressing conditions under which Arthur succeeded him—My solicitation for Conkling's return, and how it came to grief—I succeed to the Stalwart leadership.

SUDDENLY I heard myself talked about for the U. S. Senate to succeed Francis Kernan, Democrat. I had so recently identified myself with the U. S. Express Company that I was very reluctant to return to public life. But friends insisted that I should declare myself a candidate. I knew I would have the bitter opposition of the Garfield men and of Blaine, who was about to become Secretary of State in the Garfield Cabinet. It seemed to me that there had been trouble enough in the party without looking for more. The campaign

began, however, and I was forced to participate finally as an avowed candidate. I soon discovered I had rivals in Richard Crowley, of Lockport; Sherman S. Rogers, of Erie; William A. Wheeler, of Franklin, who had been Vice-President during the Hayes administration; Eldridge G. Lapham, of Ontario; Chauncey M. Depew and Levi P. Morton, of New York.

The canvass commenced immediately after the election returns showed that the Republicans had carried the Legislature.

At first Vice-President Arthur and Conkling stoutly supported Crowley. Ultimately they came to my aid. They did this, however, after they had failed to capture the followers of former Vice-President Wheeler for Crowley.

Depew, who at the beginning was the choice of Governor Cornell, was withdrawn, and his followers were thrown to me. U. S. Marshals Louis F. Payn, of Columbia, and Clinton D. MacDougall, of Cayuga; Frank Hiscock, of Onondaga; Warner Miller; former Congressman Davies, and others, were among my original adherents. Morton had with him the late Hugh Hastings and Jacob A. Hess. Wheeler had behind him men who had been identified with the Hayes administration. Rogers was the candidate of western New York.

FIRST NAMED FOR THE U. S. SENATE

The caucus was held on the night of January 13, 1881. My friends secured the preliminary skir-

mish by selecting Senator Dennis McCarthy, of Onondaga, as chairman. Patrick Cullinan, of Oswego, placed my name before the caucus. He was a natural born orator, slow, deliberate, and possessed a voice which resounded through the chamber.

Messrs. Halbert, Young and Nowlan seconded my nomination. E. A. Carpenter submitted the name of Crowley. Speaker Sharpe offered the second. Senator Pitts, of Orleans, presented Rogers; Assemblyman John Raines, of Ontario, Lapham; and Assemblyman Brennan put up Wheeler.

"Old Salt" Thomas G. Alvord, who led the Assembly roll call, cast his vote for me. So did Assemblyman James W. Husted, popularly known as the "Bald Eagle of Westchester." It became apparent long before the roll call ended that I was to be the victor.

Out of 105 votes I received 54; Crowley, 26; Rogers and Wheeler, each 10; Lapham, 4; and Morton, 1. Speaker Sharpe moved to make the nomination unanimous, and it was so agreed.

ORIGIN OF THE TERM "STALWART"

It was during this contest that the term "Stalwart" became so celebrated.

Alfred R. Conkling, nephew of the late Senator, asserts that his uncle coined the term "Stalwart" at a meeting of the three of us at Wormley's

Hotel, Washington, in 1875. He says that Conkling addressed me: "Let me introduce my nephew, Alfred."

I looked the young man over and remarked: "You resemble an Englishman more than you do an American."

"He is a Stalwart man," was Senator Conkling's reply.

Since the nephew reminded me of this incident, I have had a pretty accurate recollection that it is correct. In any event, Senator Conkling was the first man I ever heard use the word in politics.

I was really put forth as a "Stalwart of the Stalwarts." As such I was elected. Nothing pleased me more than to get this message from Conkling:

"I congratulate the Republican party in the State of New York on the choice of a Senator who never apologized for being a 'Stalwart.' "

HOW I WON

The New York *Tribune,* the day after my nomination, thus described how I had won:

The Senatorial Nomination.—Mr. Thomas C. Platt is to be the next United States Senator from New York. Readers of the *Tribune* at least have no reason for surprise at a result which has been so long and so clearly foreshadowed. If a distinctive representative of the machine was to be

chosen, then doubtless this is the best result that was attainable; and Mr. Platt's majority is due to that belief among his opponents.

In much of the newspaper discussion concerning him, Mr. Platt has been the victim of an unreasonable prejudice. When his closest political friend and most effective supporter was nominated year before last for the governorship, we took the opportunity to say that while Mr. Cornell had never been our candidate, we were confident that he had been unjustly assailed, that he would be elected, and that he would go out of office far more popular than when he entered it. With his term not yet half expired, we already find the latter prediction fulfilled, and his warmest eulogy coming from those who had most vehemently distrusted him. We think Mr. Platt will have a similar experience. He will be found a faithful and zealous Republican; he will seek what he honestly believes to be the best interest of the whole Republican party; he will be an industrious, capable and efficient business Senator; and he will be far more popular two years hence than to-day.

It would be a great mistake to regard this election as a clear defeat of the men whose independent action at Chicago secured the nomination of Garfield. Finding a concentration on one of their own men impossible, they have chosen that candidate among the possibilities who best suited them. They chose the man whom General Arthur tried to defeat; the man whom the blind followers of

the machine accused of a disposition to set up for himself; the man whom Cornell, after undergoing a similar arraignment for daring to act on his own judgment, persisted in favoring; the man whom the city machine was most earnestly anxious to defeat. Mr. Platt does not owe his nomination to Mr. Conkling. He does owe it, in part, to the active hostility of those machine men to whom Mr. Conkling has of late given the largest share of his confidence; and in part to the support of those machine men who have been suspected and accused of too much independence. He owes it more to confidence in his fairness and candor felt among a large portion of the anti-machine men. And, finally, he owes it to the warm friendship felt among Republicans in almost every county of the interior for the man whom they have long known as one of the most active and effective working Republicans of the State.)

GARFIELD'S RENEWED PROMISE TO CONKLING.

In January, 1881, Senator Conkling received from President-elect Garfield a letter bidding him to come to Mentor and consult about New York appointments and other Empire State affairs.

Here is President-elect Garfield's autograph letter inviting Conkling to visit him:

Mentor, January 31, 1881.

DEAR SENATOR:

As the time is near at hand when I must enter upon my new duties, I would be glad to consult you upon several subjects relating to the next administration, and especially in reference to New York interests. It does not seem possible for me to visit Washington at present, and I write to express the hope that you will do me the favor to visit me here at as early a date as possible.

Very truly yours,

J. A. GARFIELD.

Hon. ROSCOE CONKLING, Washington, D. C.

Conkling responded. There was a long consultation between him and the President-elect. The President-elect reiterated his pledges to make no New York appointments without consultation with the U. S. Senators and the other organization leaders. Conkling came back quite as skeptical as ever of Garfield's intention to fulfil his promises.

GARFIELD REPUDIATES HIS AGREEMENT

Garfield was inaugurated. The fact that Conkling and I stood directly behind the President and seemed on most friendly terms with him caused those who were ignorant of the situation to believe that we were really political allies. Their mistake was emphasized when, a few days after qualifying, without consultation with us or with

any New York representatives, Garfield announced the removal of General Edwin A. Merritt as Collector of the Port of New York. Merritt had proved himself a most faithful and experienced officer, and we could discover no reason for his decapitation except that the President desired a place for William H. Robertson as a reward for his championship at Chicago and during the campaign.

I had been sworn in as U. S. Senator the day before Garfield took the oath of office. Conkling and I called upon the President inauguration day to offer our congratulations. We were received with great cordiality. During the conversation the President voluntarily referred to the agreement made by him with Conkling at Mentor, and reassured us that the contract then outlined would be fulfilled. Despite this, rumors continued to multiply that Blaine was very busy striving to induce the President to make practically a clean sweep of Stalwart office-holders in New York. They became so prevalent that I began to believe there was a deal of foundation for them. March 18 I was compelled to go to New York to attend to some private business. Lest there might be misunderstanding, I addressed a letter to the President, explaining my absence from Washington, and requesting that the agreement as to consideration of New York appointments might be kept at least until my return. Here is a copy of the letter in facsimile, reproduced for the first time:

U. S. SENATE CHAMBER

WASHINGTON

March. 18. 1881

My Dear Mr President

I am called away to New York for two or three days & beg to request that no action shall be precipitated on the important New York nomination until I return & can see you

I have waited expecting that you would, as stated in our last interview, call for me when you needed any advice from me in

these matters. I hope
you will give me
opportunity to be heard
before action is
taken

Yours sincerely

T C Platt

Hon Excellency
President Garfield

No summons came to either Conkling or myself during my visit to New York. Meantime we continued to hear mutterings from the White House that were unwelcome to our ears.

GARFIELD DECLARES WAR

They were that Garfield had made known to certain of his intimates that he had uttered no promise of any kind to me and others at the August, New York, conference, or to Conkling at Mentor; that even if he had, he could not, because of the pressure brought upon him by Secretary Blaine and others who had stood for his nomination at Chicago, make good.

In view of these reports, Conkling and myself were not astonished at the announcement of the removal of General Merritt. When we learned that Merritt would have to go, Conkling and I made up our minds to recommend a man for his successor. Sunday night, March 21, after a conference with me, Senator Conkling called at the White House purposing to suggest Levi P. Morton for Merritt's job. The President informed Conkling that he was not ready to consider New York appointments. Conkling assured me that again did Garfield reaffirm his New York and Mentor promises. March 23, within forty-eight hours after Conkling's call, the President sent to the Senate the nominations of William H. Robertson for Collector of the Port; General Stewart L.

Woodford, of Brooklyn, and A. W. Tenney, of New York, for U. S. District-Attorneys; and C. D. McDougall, of Auburn, and Louis F. Payn, of Columbia, for U. S. Marshals.

Payn was our friend. The others were not. Though much angered, we at first offered no protest. However, our patience soon became exhausted, especially about the nomination of Robertson, who was thoroughly detested by Conkling, and had constantly fought the organization we had established. It developed that after Conkling's call upon the President, Secretary Blaine had visited Garfield and induced him to nominate Robertson.

CONKLING, NOT I, THE "ME, TOO"

Inasmuch as the collectorship was the most desirable and lucrative New York office within the gift of the President, Conkling and myself naturally were inclined to resent Robertson's nomination. I have been portrayed as a "Me, too," an "Echo" and "Dromio" of Conkling. It had been an impression among my critics that I merely followed the example of Conkling in exhibiting my protestations by resigning from the Senate.

These are the facts: When I was informed that Robertson's nomination had been submitted to the Senate, I went to the desk and examined the official document. I considered it a gratuitous insult to the New York Republican organization.

I walked over to Conkling and said: "I shall send my resignation to Governor Cornell to-night." Conkling, with a look of impatience, turned upon me and replied: "Young man, do not be too hasty about this matter!"

We then went to the rear of the Chamber and talked it over.

Conkling insisted that we should wait, and fight it out in the committee to which the Robertson nomination had been referred. I replied: "We have been so humiliated as U. S. Senators from the great State of New York, that there is but one thing for us to do—rebuke the President by immediately turning in our resignations and then appeal to the Legislature to sustain us."

I finally induced Conkling, May 14, to join me in offering our joint resignations. He made up his mind after Vice-President Arthur and Postmaster-General James, the only member of the Garfield Cabinet from New York, had voiced their protest along with Governor Cornell and other New York Republican leaders.

Cornell sent a trusted friend to Washington to personally warn the President that the proposed change in the custom house would disrupt the Republican party in New York. A caucus of Republican U. S. Senators, with unanimity, declared its unqualified disapproval of the President's course. A committee was deputized to wait upon the President, offer a remonstrance, and notify him that unless the Robertson nomination was

withdrawn, the Republican party of New York would be hopelessly divided, and the State might be hopelessly surrendered to the Democracy. The President received the committee in high dudgeon. He scarcely awaited a declaration of its mission before he roared:

"I do not propose to be dictated to. Any Republican Senator who votes against my nominations may know that he can expect no favors from the Executive. Senators who dare to oppose the Executive will henceforth require letters of introduction to the White House."

CONKLING JOINS ME IN RESIGNING

This caused Conkling and myself to become the more determined to resign. On the night of May 14, by special messenger, there was sent to Governor Cornell the following letter:

Washington, D. C., May 14, 1881.

Hon. ALONZO B. CORNELL, Executive Chamber, Albany, N. Y.

SIR: Transmitting, as we do, our resignations, respectively, of the great trust with which New York has honored us, it is fit that we acquaint you, and, through you, the Legislature and people of the State, with the reasons which, in our judgment, make such a step respectful and necessary.

Some weeks ago the President sent to the Senate, in a group, the nominations of several per-

sons for public offices already filled. One of these offices is the Collectorship of the Port of New York, now held by General Merritt; another is the Consul-Generalship at London, now held by General Badeau; another is Chargé d'Affaires to Denmark, held by Mr. Cramer; another is the mission to Switzerland, held by Mr. Fish, a son of the former distinguished Secretary of State. Mr. Fish had, in deference to an ancient practice, placed his position at the disposal of the new administration, but, like the other persons named, he was ready to remain at his post if permitted to do so. All of these officers, save only Mr. Cramer, are citizens of New York. It was proposed to displace them all, not for any alleged fault of theirs, or for any alleged need or advantage of the public service, but in order to give the great office of Collector of the Port of New York to Mr. William H. Robertson as a "reward" for certain acts of his, said to have "aided in making the nomination of General Garfield possible." The chain of removals thus proposed was broken by General Badeau promptly declining to accept the new place to which he was sent.

These nominations summoned every member of the Senate to say on his oath whether he "advised" such a transaction. The movement was more than a surprise. We had been told only a few hours before that no removals in the New York offices were soon to be made or even considered, and had been requested to withhold the

papers and suggestions bearing on the subject, which had been sent to us for presentation should occasion arise, until we had notice from the President of his readiness to receive them. Learning that the Vice-President was equally surprised, and had been equally misled, we went to Mr. James, the Cabinet officer from our State, and learned that though he had spent some time with the President on the morning of the day the nominations were sent in, no disclosure of an intention to send them had been made to him, and that he first knew of the matter by hearsay following the event. After earnest reflection and consultation, we believed the proceeding unwise and wrong, whether considered wholly in relation to the preservation and integrity of the public service and the public example to be set, or in relation also to the integrity of the Republican party. No public utterance of comment or censure was made by either of us in the Senate or elsewhere; on the contrary, we thought that the President would reconsider an action so sudden and hasty, and would at least adopt less hurtful and objectionable modes of requiting personal or individual service.

PROTEST TO THE PRESIDENT

In this hope the following paper was prepared and signed, and presented by Mr. James to the President, who was subsequently informed that you had authorized your name to be added also:

To the President: We beg leave to remonstrate against the change in the Collectorship of the Port of New York by the removal of Mr. Merritt and the appointment of Mr. Robertson. The proposal was wholly a surprise. We heard of it only when the several nominations involved in the plan were announced in the Senate. We had only two days before this been informed from you that a change in the customs office at New York was not contemplated; and, quite ignorant of a purpose to take any action now, we had no opportunity, until after the nominations, to make the suggestion we now present. We do not believe that the interests of the public service will be promoted by removing the present collector and putting Mr. Robertson in his stead. Our opinion is quite the reverse, and we believe no political advantage can be gained for either the Republican party or its principles. Believing that no individual has claims or obligations which should be liquidated in such a mode, we earnestly and respectfully ask that the nomination of Mr. Robertson be withdrawn.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.
T. C. PLATT.
THOMAS L. JAMES.
ROSCOE CONKLING.

REMONSTRANCES FROM THE PEOPLE

Immediately after the nominations were published, letters and telegrams in great numbers

came from every part of the State, from its leading citizens, protesting against the proposed changes and condemning them on many grounds. Several thousands of the leading mercantile firms of New York—constituting, we are informed, a majority of every branch of trade—sent us remonstrances. Sixty of the eighty-one Republican members of the Assembly, by letter or memorial, made objection. Representatives in Congress, State officials, business men, professional men, commercial, industrial and political organizations, are among the remonstrants, and they speak from every section of the State. Besides the nominations already referred to, there were awaiting the action of the Senate several citizens of New York named for offices connected with the courts, district attorneys and marshals. These were all reappointments. Most of them had been originally commissioned by Mr. Hayes. They were certified by the judges of the courts and many other eminent persons, who attested the faithfulness and merit of their service, and recommended their continuance. They were not presented by us.

We have not attempted to "dictate," nor have we asked the nomination of one person to any office in the State. Indeed, with the sole exception of the written request set forth above, we have never even expressed an opinion to the President in any case unless questioned in regard to it.

The Legislature is in session. It is Republican in majority, and New York abounds in sons quite as able as we to bear her mission and commission in the Senate of the United States.

With a profound sense of the obligations we owe, with devotion to the Republican party and its creed of liberty and right, with reverent attachment to the great State whose interests and honor are dear to us, we hold it respectful and becoming to make room for those who may correct all the errors we have made, and interpret aright all the duties we have misconceived.

We therefore inclose our resignations, but hold fast the privilege, as citizens and Republicans, to stand for the constitutional rights of all men, and of all representatives, whether of the States, the nation or the people.

We have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

ROSCOE CONKLING.

THOMAS C. PLATT.

To his Excellency, GOVERNOR CORNELL, Albany, N. Y.

Postmaster-General James at first agreed to unite with us and resign from the Cabinet. But Garfield and Blaine got at him and he changed his mind.

"THIS INGRATE IN THE WHITE HOUSE"

Lou. Payn was at Albany, in consultation with Governor Cornell, when news reached them, May 15, that Conkling's and my resignations were on the way.

"What does this mean. marshal?" asked the governor in alarm.

"It means," responded Payn, "that Platt and Conkling have resigned their seats in the Senate; that a messenger will be here at noon to-day with copies of their resignations, and a letter explaining why they have resigned."

Cornell, who was bent on succeeding himself the following year, saw premonitions of disaster, and in tones of trepidation asked: "Well, marshal, what is to be done?"

"Send for Speaker Sharpe and our other friends and consult as to the best line of getting even with this—ingrate in the White House," roared Payn.

While Sharpe, Cornell, Payn and others of our supposed allies were aimlessly discussing a course of action, our joint letter of resignation and its written justification were read to the Legislature. Payn told me afterward that he had rarely witnessed more of a sensation in the Senate and Assembly than it produced.

The next day, the Garfield organs flayed Conkling and myself, and declared that we had both gone to private life, where we belonged. Their

gross wilful ignorance of the real cause of our voluntary retirement from the Senate and the inception of it, were disclosed when in editorial and cartoon I was pictured as a small boy sticking out of Conkling's pocket, with a card labeled "Me, too!" tied to one of my hands. That I had no selfish motive in assuming the attitude I had must be apparent when I say that I offered, if some other Stalwart than myself could be agreed upon for my seat, to pay all the expenses of his and Conkling's canvass. I sincerely believed that Conkling's return would prove a sufficient rebuke to Garfield. I was more than willing to go back to my private business if a reëlection for Conkling could be assured.

HOW CONKLING AND I WERE DEFEATED FOR REËLECTION

Conkling and I returned to New York from Washington Sunday, May 21. There we met Vice-President Arthur, Superintendent of Insurance John F. Smyth, State Senator Robert H. Strahan, Speaker George H. Sharpe, Stephen B. French, Louis F. Payn, and A. B. Johnson. There was a long conference. A majority of those who participated decided that we owed it to the Republican organization to resent the contumely Garfield heaped upon it and us, by seeking of the Legislature an immediate reëlection. Conkling, disgusted, and seemingly anxious to quit public life, protested against any such course. But he

finally agreed to it when it was impressed upon him that the very existence of the organization which he and I had helped to build up was at stake. Lou. Payn prognosticated that we would both be defeated. Speaker Sharpe angrily turned upon Payn and exclaimed: "We shall win this battle without any trouble." "Huh, but you will be the first to desert us," retorted Payn.

Both of his predictions were verified.

There immediately began the bitterest Senatorial contest within the history of the State that I can recall. The Garfield administration, determined that we should not be returned, at first put up former Vice-President William A. Wheeler against Conkling, and later Elbridge G. Lapham, of Ontario. Chauncey M. Depew was for a while regarded the administration choice against me. But the administration picked Warner Miller. The Legislative balloting began May 31. The entire month of June and more than half of July were consumed in balloting and fighting. I became satisfied on the night of June 30 that by remaining in the field I was very much injuring Conkling's chances for reëlection. The thirty-first ballot taken that day had resulted as follows: For Conkling's seat: Wheeler, 43; Conkling, 32; Lapham, 17; Sherman S. Rogers, 4; Cornell, 2; Lieutenant-Governor Hoskins, 1—Republicans; and O. B. Potter, Democrat, 53. (Seventy-seven votes were required to nominate.) For my seat: Depew, 51; Platt, 28; Cornell, 11; Lapham, 2;

Tremain, 1; Crowley, 7—Republicans; Kernan, Democrat, 53.

During the night I consulted with Conkling, Payn and other friends, and urged that I was simply ruining Conkling's chances to go back to Washington, and argued that I should be allowed to withdraw. I felt that I could much better be spared from the Senate than could Conkling. Conkling and Payn vehemently protested that I should stick. Before morning I had completely made up my mind and told Conkling so. I requested Payn to go to Speaker Sharpe and ask him to formally withdraw my name.

"I will do nothing of the kind. We are in this struggle to the finish, and you must not retire," implored Payn.

"Then, if no one will carry this message to Sharpe, I will do so myself," I replied.

Finally Payn acceded to my wishes. On the morning of July 1, he notified Sharpe. On the way to the capitol Payn happened to meet Richard Crowley, who was really the personal choice of Vice-President Arthur for the Senate.

"I am on my way to announce the withdrawal of Senator Platt," said Payn.

"For goodness' sake, don't do it! That will jeopardize my candidacy," replied Crowley.

"Cannot help that. Platt's mind is made up, and when it is made up, that settles it," returned Payn, as he hastened to call Speaker Sharpe out

of the chair and communicate my desires. Sharpe agreed to respect them.

I WITHDRAW TO HELP CONKLING

When the joint convention of the two houses was called to order, Speaker Sharpe announced: "I have been voting for Thomas C. Platt for Senator. At his request, and in the interest of the Republican party, I withdraw his name. I vote for Crowley."

As a result of my withdrawal, Crowley got fourteen more votes, and Cornell five. The remainder of my friends scattered among the other candidates. The late John J. O'Brien came rushing into my room on hearing of my retirement and begged that I reconsider. "Do this, and we shall adjourn the Legislature *sine die,* and you and Conkling will have secured your vindication," he urged.

"I came here seeking a reëlection. I find it impossible to secure it. I am injuring Conkling's chances for a return to Washington every hour I remain a candidate. Therefore I have concluded to finally withdraw," was my answer.

GARFIELD'S ASSASSINATION

In the midst of spiritless balloting, July 2, we were all shocked by the news of the assassination of President Garfield. I was simply stunned. So

were Conkling, Vice-President Arthur, and everybody else. Arthur was overcome with grief, particularly when he read in the dispatches that Charles Guiteau, the murderer, when asked: "In God's name, why did you shoot the President?" replied: "I am a Stalwart, and I want Arthur for President."

Arthur, during the day, received a message from Secretary of State Blaine, acquainting him with the horrible tragedy, and asking him to hurry to Washington. Arthur, Conkling and myself took the first available train for New York. We all three shed tears during the trip.

We all realized, too, how—it was soon proved—our political enemies would try and associate us with a crime committed by a crazy man. We found New York almost as much excited as during the draft riots of 1863. On reaching the Fifth Avenue Hotel, evidence of insanity among others than Guiteau was manifested. The proprietors of the hotel had received a card written in a scrawling hand, reading:

GENS: We will hang Conkling and Co. at nine P.M. sharpe. THE COMMITTEE.

Arthur hurried on to Washington, where he was soon to succeed Garfield. Conkling and myself went at once to our rooms, where we found other warnings, that, should Garfield die, Arthur, Conkling and myself should pay the penalty.

Conkling was admonished that he must give up the fight for the Senatorship. I was not alarmed much over the threats of bodily chastisement, but I was over the dreadful popular misunderstanding of our course, which muddle-brained men twisted into a physical assault upon the President of the United States. I lost all interest in the conflict at Albany in my anxiety for the recovery of the President, and joined with the millions of American people in praying that he might be restored to us.

WARNER MILLER WINS MY SEAT

While President Garfield lay upon his deathbed the battle for Conkling's and my places was resumed, though I took no part in it. Conkling managed his campaign from New York.

July 7, sixty-two "Half-breeds" and "Featherheads," as adherents of the Garfield administration had been characterized during the contest, called a caucus of the Republican legislators. This was held the next day. Depew withdrew from the race. Warner Miller was nominated for my seat, and Lapham for Conkling's. Miller's election was brought about by Senators Robertson, Madden, McCarthy, Wagner, Woodin, and other representatives of the national administration. After four ballots, upon orders from Washington, there was a stampede for Miller, which carried him to victory. Lapham was later chosen by a large majority.

But the Conkling men fought to the finish. They took up Wheeler and other candidates and tried to defeat Lapham. In each case they were whipped.

July 16, Miller was formally chosen to succeed me, chiefly through the defection of Speaker Sharpe, as prophesied in May by Lou. Payn. July 22, Lapham was also elected, Senator Halbert, the Conkling campaign manager, finally throwing the entire Conkling vote to Lapham.

Conkling's pride was hurt by the disaster that befell him. He gradually relinquished his interest in politics, and returned to the practice of his profession, in which he shone brilliantly until his tragic death in the blizzard of 1888.

I SUCCEED CONKLING IN THE LEADERSHIP

Conkling's Stalwart leadership title really fell upon me after our joint defeat for reëlection to the Senate. In answer to accusations frequently uttered by "Half-breeds" in the early eighties, and my opponents since, that I plotted to unhorse Conkling, while pretending to be his devoted deputy, let me quote St. Clair McKelway, editor of the Brooklyn *Eagle,* in an article headed: "Thomas Collier Platt—the Recognized Republican Boss," printed August 5, 1900:

"Mr. Platt, so long as he was in alliance with Mr. Conkling as leader, was true to him, and re-

mained true in times when nearly all of the other lieutenants proved failures."

I served Conkling faithfully so long as he was willing to lead. When disheartened, and stung by the refusal of the Legislature to send him back to the Senate, Conkling voluntarily quit politics, all his old allies marshaled themselves about me and hailed me as his heir.

Those who have attacked me for espousing the cause of Blaine, Conkling's bitterest enemy, in 1884, must remember that three years had elapsed since Conkling had been active in political affairs. Indeed, he had withdrawn from the field entirely, and neither I nor any of his former lieutenants could induce him to lift hand or voice in behalf of any candidate for office.

CHAPTER VIII

1882-1884

Annihilation of Folger—Surprising official début of Cleveland—Truth about the "forged telegram"—How the lie was worked to crucify Republican candidates—Conkling, disheartened, formally hands over his command to me—Republicans take fresh hold and carry the State.

RARELY have the issues of a campaign been so befogged and Republican candidates so misrepresented as in 1882. We entered upon that canvass split asunder by the schism that followed the differences between President Garfield and the Republican organization in this State. Few of us believed it possible to repeat the success of 1879, even had we been united.

Governor Cornell had proved a good executive. But many of us felt that he had been too pronounced a factionist in the quarrel with President Garfield. Representative Republicans and independents throughout the State urged that we name in his place a man who had not been actively identified with either the Stalwart or Half-breed wing of the party.

Early in the summer of 1882, the dominant sentiment appeared to favor the nomination of Charles J. Folger, of Ontario, for Governor. He had been a most capable State Senator; had served acceptably as Assistant Treasurer of the United States; had been a member of the constitutional convention of 1867; a member of the highest court in the State, which gave him the title of "Old Court of Appeals"; had been offered the Attorney-Generalship by President Garfield, and, after declining that, was made Secretary of the Treasury by him, and was retained in that office by President Arthur. His spotless character, his extraordinary ability, and his avoidance of petty disputes that involved the party leaders, seemed to make him an ideal choice for the governorship.

Long before the convention met at Saratoga in September, such experts at getting at Republican sentiment as James D. Warren, of Erie; Richard Crowley, of Niagara; John N. Knapp, of Cayuga; John J. O'Brien and Cornelius Van Cott, of New York, became convinced that Judge Folger was about the only man who could be elected, and that Cornell could not be reëlected. I coincided in that opinion.

CORNELL OUT FOR FIGHT

Cornell, however, announced his determination to fight for a renomination. Behind him were Senator Warner Miller, of Herkimer; Silas B.

Dutcher, of Kings; Louis F. Payn, of Columbia; and Ellis H. Roberts, of Oneida. James M. Matthews, of Erie, and a few admirers of James W. Wadsworth, of Livingston, backed him. Adherents of John H. Starin, of New York; Walter A. Wood, of Rensselaer; and General Robinson, of Broome, sought to create a diversion by grooming them as dark horses.

Warner Miller tried to produce a popular impression that President Arthur was seeking to force the nomination of Judge Folger, and that the President was making war on Cornell, a Republican, instead of upon a Democrat. There was no warrant for this accusation. President Arthur in the initial stages of the contest publicly announced that he would in no way interfere, and that the Republicans of New York must choose their own ticket without expectation of encouragement or rebuke from the Federal administration.

The fight for delegates to the State convention showed that on a preliminary canvass Folger would have at least 260 votes; Cornell, 174; and Wadsworth, 74. The Half-breeds exulted much at seizing upon the delegates from Ontario County, the home of Judge Folger. Their agents had gone to Judge Folger and assured him that local pride would induce them to give him his home delegation. The judge believed them. His friends made no contest, though they could easily

have carried the primaries. They woke up with an anti-Folger delegation chosen to Saratoga.

Colonel George Bliss is on record as asserting:

"The vote of Ontario was stolen. Judge Folger was told by the Half-breeds that there would be no opposition to him there. He and his friends learned too late that the Ontario delegates were wolves in sheep's clothing."

FOLGER WINS IN CONVENTION

On reaching Saratoga we found that we needed at least two if not four votes to control the State committee which made up the preliminary roll of the State convention. We soon gained recruits, however, through unexpected accessions, and defeated the Half-breeds by making former Senator Edward M. Madden temporary chairman of the convention, by a vote of 18 to 14. That gave the Folger men a preliminary victory. It was followed up by the nominations of the judge and a ticket that we believed would appeal to the citizenship of the State. Folger got on first ballot, 223 votes; Cornell, 180; Wadsworth, 69; Starin, 19; and Robinson, 6. The second ballot settled the contest, Folger getting 257; Cornell, 222; and Wadsworth, 18.

The Democrats, who had meantime nominated Grover Cleveland, made one of the great issues an alleged forged telegram, through which it was charged the Folger men secured control of the

organization of the Saratoga convention. That there were no serious grounds for the accusation was established long before the canvass ended. But the defeated Half-breeds joined with the Democrats in keeping the falsehood afloat. It did much toward bringing about the victory of Cleveland, and disaster for Folger and the Republican ticket.

TRUTH ABOUT THAT "FORGED" TELEGRAM

The facts are these: At the meeting of the State committee, Stephen B. French, once Commissioner of Police in New York, and a warm supporter of Judge Folger, submitted a telegram from William H. Robertson, reading thus:

New York, September 19, 1882.

Hon. S. B. French, Grand Union Hotel, Saratoga:

Please act as my proxy at meeting of State committee, and oblige,

W. H. Robertson.

That there might be no subterfuge, French had the message read to the committee. No protest was offered against his acting for Robertson, although Speaker James W. Husted and other confidants of the Collector of the Port of New York were in attendance and participated in the proceedings. The following day Collector Robertson declared in the newspapers that he had never au-

thorized French to act for him, and that the telegram was a forgery.

That French believed the telegram genuine and that he acted in perfect faith, I did not doubt at the time, nor have I any reason to change that impression. If the telegram was forged, French was quite as much a victim of duplicity as was Robertson. I accepted then and I accept now Commissioner French's statement. It was made immediately after the rumor was in circulation that the telegram was not authorized, and ran about as follows:

FRENCH NAILS THE LIE

"This is due to the duplicity of Robertson. For six months the Cornell men believed that Robertson would support them at the State convention. Robertson told Al. Daggett he would support Cornell. He told Richard Crowley he would support Folger. When the Westchester delegation was elected, I felt that Robertson was treacherous and would act in opposition to the administration. He did not attend the convention in his own district. This he never failed to do, in my recollection. A majority of the delegates from Westchester were Cornell men.

"I knew that the State convention would be close. I resolved to find out precisely where Mr. Robertson stood. Last Monday morning I went to see him at the custom house. He was not there.

I left word that I would like to see him at Mr. Acton's office in the assay office building, across the way, as soon as he came in. I went over to Acton's office. Robertson came over from the custom house. Acton told him frankly what I had said. Robertson said: 'Is French angry with me?' Acton told him I was. Robertson said: 'Well, I will go and see Secretary Folger at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. I would prefer to deal with him. He is a man of milder temper.'

ROBERTSON'S PROMISE TO FOLGER

"Robertson then went to the hotel. I followed him, but he had already made his call on Secretary Folger and left. I saw Secretary Folger, and said: 'What did Robertson say?' The judge replied: 'He said he would support me in the convention.' I said: 'Judge, Robertson is cheating you. I am sure he is. You have treated him too handsomely. I wish I had been here when Robertson had been here. He is swindling all of us. Why, just look at those Westchester delegates! It is nonsense for Robertson to say he could not control their election. He has held the county in the palm of his hand for years. If the delegates are opposed to your nomination, he is opposed to your nomination. He is opposed to the administration after having promised for months to support it.'

"We found it was absolutely necessary for

Robertson to be at Saratoga, as the anti-administration men held the key to the position in the State committee. On Tuesday afternoon I wrote the following despatch at the telegraph office on the floor of the U. S. Hotel:

" 'Saratoga Springs, September 19, 1882.
" 'The Hon. WILLIAM H. ROBERTSON, Custom House, N. Y.:
" 'It is of the utmost importance that you come here on the three-thirty train. State committee meets to-night. Answer you will come.
" 'COMMISSIONER.'

"I showed the despatch after I had written it to John F. Smyth, and asked him if he thought Robertson would recognize from whom it came, if it were signed merely 'Commissioner.' He said he thought Robertson would. At the time the telegraph operator was absent. But he had posted up a notice that he would be back at 1:30 P.M. I said to R. A. Elmer, the Second Assistant Postmaster-General, who was standing at the same table writing a despatch: 'Well, we will have to leave our despatches here for the operator, I guess.' We found a paper weight, placed both despatches beneath it, and sauntered off. In a few minutes I came back, and finding the operator there, asked him if he had sent my despatch. He said he had received no despatch from me. We hunted about for it on the floor of the office and

in the waste-paper basket. But we could not find it. Elmer's despatch we did find. I said to an acquaintance who was standing by: 'I guess you have stolen my despatch.' Then I wrote another despatch, similar to the first, and told the operator that it ought to be rushed ahead of other business, as it was imperative that Mr. Robertson should get it in time to catch the 3:30 train.

"ROBERTSON NAMED ME HIS PROXY"

"Robertson did not come. We did not act, as we did not have a majority of the committee. Wednesday morning I found, when I got up at the Grand Union, the despatch from Robertson appointing me his proxy. I had no doubt of its genuineness, because Mr. Robertson had repeatedly said he would support Folger and the administration in the convention."

Richard Crowley adds his testimony to that of French, that Robertson had promised to support Folger. Crowley said: "In April last I met Mr. Robertson in Washington. We went up to the White House to call on the President. I said: 'Mr. Robertson, whom do you intend to support for Governor this fall?' He replied: 'Judge Folger.' On the day after the State committee meeting, early in September, I asked him the same question. This time he said: 'I am in favor of Judge Folger against any other man in the State of New York.' "

Whether or not the Robertson telegram was forged, I am satisfied that Commissioner French believed it to be genuine, and acted accordingly. The testimony of Judge Folger and Richard Crowley, that Robertson had promised Folger his support, ought to convince the most captious that French sought to carry out Robertson's pledge.

FOLGER SLAUGHTERED AT THE POLLS

It has always been disagreeable and indeed painful for me to discuss the political tragedy that resulted in November. Judge Folger, as pure and talented an American citizen as ever lived, was sacrificed. Grover Cleveland, Democrat, was elected for Governor by nearly two hundred thousand plurality. The alleged forged telegram incident; the quarrel between the Stalwarts and the Half-breeds, and the remaining away from the polls of tens of thousands of Republicans, contributed toward a triumph for a comparatively unknown man, who was destined to become twice President of the United States. Had the voters really understood how false were the charges about corrupt methods in the nomination of Folger, and had they known and appreciated the respective merits of the Republican factions, the political history of the State and nation would not have recorded many of the revolutionary events which marked the campaign of 1882 and the years that followed. Not since the formation

of the Republican party had such a disaster befallen it.

At no time did the party and the organization appear so demoralized as when Cleveland was inaugurated on New Year's Day, 1883, and David B. Hill, afterward Governor and U. S. Senator, became Lieutenant-Governor.

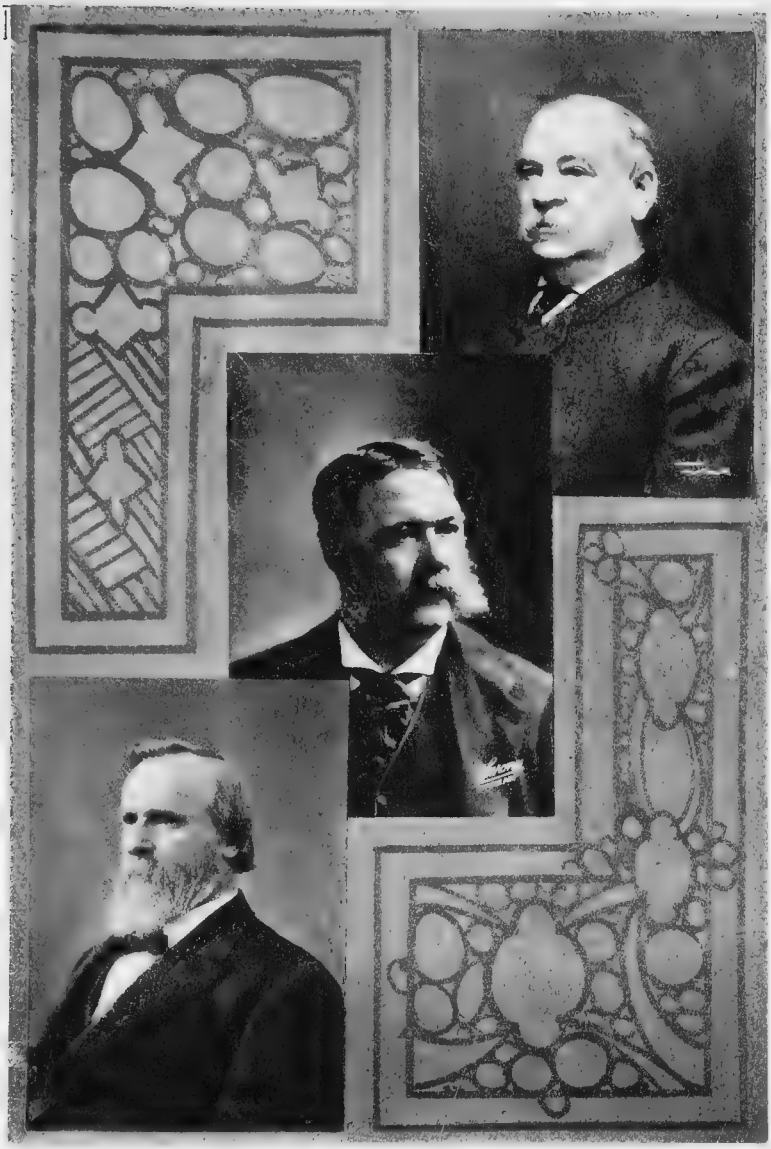
Undismayed by the calamity we suffered, a few of us Stalwarts sought to reform our lines and prepare for the campaign of the following fall, when all the State officers except Governor and Lieutenant-Governor were to be elected, and a new Assembly was to be chosen. We succeeded in convincing a majority of the people that they had been lamentably mistaken in rebuking us at the polls the previous year. We elected General Joseph B. Carr Secretary of State, and every other State candidate, except James W. Husted, who ran for State Treasurer, and secured a majority of the new Assembly.

CHAPTER IX

1884-1887

How Arthur provoked organization revolt by refusing to undo wrongs suffered from Garfield —Causes for my opposing Arthur and befriending Blaine in 1884—First set-to with Roosevelt — Treachery and mugwumpery overwhelm Blaine—Arthur the Chesterfield, Blaine the American.

ANOTHER National Convention confronted us in 1884. The Half-breeds sought to block my election as a delegate to that convention. They invaded my home district and resorted to all the tricks known to the political trade to prevent my taking a seat at Chicago. Through the efforts of Colonel George W. Dunn and other tried friends I secured an election. Arthur, who had succeeded Garfield, became a candidate for the Presidential nomination early in the year. George F. Edmunds, of Vermont, was the choice of George William Curtis, Theodore Roosevelt, Warner Miller, and other leaders, who were then fighting the organization of which I had been made spokesman. That organization was not disposed to forgive Arthur for refusing to get rid of Collector



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES CHESTER A. ARTHUR GROVER CLEVELAND

William H. Robertson, whose appointment, as previously stated, provoked the resignations of Conkling and myself from the U. S. Senate. The organization was wrathful at Arthur, too, because, though he joined with Conkling, Postmaster-General James and myself in protesting against the breaking of the pledge at Washington in 1881, he did little or nothing as President to cure the sores from which the Republicans of his own State were smarting.

Arthur, whose removal as Collector of the Port of New York had been sought by President Hayes, and who had joined with Conkling and myself in opposing that President's war upon the New York organization, answered our demands that he oust Robertson with the plea that having taken a seat made vacant by the death of Garfield, he was morally bound to continue the policy of the former President. Our answer was that Arthur was bound neither morally nor politically nor in any other way to follow a policy which had resulted in presenting the Empire State to political foes, and had so disrupted the party that the country was threatened with being at the mercy of a Democratic national administration for the first time since 1860. Arthur still persisted in declining to coöperate with his former faithful allies. They were compelled to choose between supporting Blaine or Edmunds, the favorites of the same faction that defeated Conkling and myself for return to the Senate in 1881. I decided to cast my for-

tunes with Blaine, if only to chastise those who had been most virulent in their assaults upon Conkling and myself. Just before departing for the Chicago convention of 1884 I called upon Senator Conkling. I astonished him by announcing:

I CAST MY LOT WITH BLAINE

"I am going to Chicago to fight for the nomination of James G. Blaine. What do you think of that?"

Conkling was struck speechless. When he finally found his breath he exclaimed:

"Well, Senator Platt, you are about to do what I could not bring myself to do. You know what Blaine did to us."

"Yes, but Arthur has deserted us. Edmunds is the choice of the most offensive of our New York foes. Blaine is to be preferred to either of them. Anyway, our friends insist upon my supporting him."

Conkling, who was not to be a delegate to Chicago, warned me that I was committing an egregious blunder. But I went to Chicago, seconded the nomination of Blaine, and returned with at least the satisfaction of having compassed the defeat of Arthur and Edmunds.

ARTHUR, THE CHESTERFIELD

Arthur in his personality was the beau-ideal of the American citizen. Six feet two in height, symmetrically built; a head adorned with silken, wavy hair, always carefully combed; whiskers of the Burnside variety, invariably trimmed to the perfection point; blue, kindly eyes, straight nose, ruddy cheeks—these and his polished manners gave him the address of a veritable Chesterfield.

Unlike Grant, Arthur was scrupulously careful about his attire. He spent a fortune upon it. He affected the choicest tweeds for business hours. In the afternoon he put on a black frock coat, white or gray waistcoat, gray trousers, black tie, and shiny silk hat. For dinner he donned the tuxedo. He rarely went to the theater, opera or to a night reception, except in full evening habiliments.

Dignity, whether at confabs with John J. O'Brien, Michael Cregan, Bernard Biglin and Robert McCord, on the porch of his Lexington Avenue residence, in the knock-down and drag-out caucus or convention, or at the most exclusive White House reception, was ever a characteristic of Arthur.

Though "one of the boys" when with "the boys," he never lost his poise. He possessed a rare faculty of adapting himself to conditions, that made him a good "mixer." In that he was the antithesis of Conkling. Arthur was a diplo-

mat. He would have proved a most excellent Secretary of State or Ambassador to the Court of St. James.

Few regarded Arthur as a great President. He was handicapped, of course, by entering upon duties bequeathed him by a murdered President, who was ever at odds with his party in Arthur's own State. The mistake Arthur made was in doing nothing to rectify the wrongs the New York organization suffered through Garfield.

THE "PLUMED KNIGHT" VANQUISHED

I offered my services to the State committee and did my utmost to induce Senator Conkling to take the stump for Blaine. Conkling emphatically declined.

The dominant organization was then under the control of Warner Miller, William H. Robertson, George William Curtis, Theodore Roosevelt and others, who either openly or secretly opposed every political project I might suggest. Nevertheless, I assisted them in every way I could to secure the electoral vote of New York to the "Plumed Knight." Blaine lost New York to Cleveland by a plurality of about eleven hundred. Blaine's managers charged that his failure to carry New York was due to fraudulent methods like the counting of votes cast for Benjamin F. Butler, the labor candidate, for Grover Cleveland,

in Long Island City. The Half-breeds charged the Stalwarts with knifing Blaine. The Stalwarts made similar charges against the Half-breeds. The Stalwarts I could control, however, were true to Blaine and every other Republican candidate.

"RUM, ROMANISM AND REBELLION"

That many votes were undoubtedly driven away from Blaine by the "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion" attack uttered by the Rev. Dr. Burchard, a few days before election, no one can question. Blaine committed a serious error in not repudiating the fanatical outbreak of this injudicious clergyman, immediately upon his perpetration of it. He either did not hear it, as it was said amid the cheering of a delegation of Methodist ministers for Mrs. Blaine, or he did not actually gage the resentment among those who were only too willing to ascribe to him intolerance of any but the Protestant religion. That the Cleveland managers were keen enough to seize upon and use the Burchardism as the final blow with which to defeat Blaine, was disclosed, when the Sunday following its delivery, Arthur Pue Gorman and Calvin S. Brice had every Roman Catholic church placarded with the three R's. Blaine was assailed by priests for either silently approving the insult, or delaying a minute in rebuking its author.

Just how numerous were the votes changed, no one could ever correctly calculate. That enough

deserted Blaine and went to Cleveland to give the latter his meager plurality in New York seems a reasonable conclusion. Burchard had rarely been heard of prior to his *faux pas*. He died detested by many and mourned by few.

BLAINE, THE AMERICAN

Serious as were my political differences with Blaine in the tempestuous days of 1881, I never hesitated to express my admiration for his charming personality, and the dashing, chivalric spirit that caused the people to bestow upon him the title of "Henry of Navarre," the "Plumed Knight" of American politics. I sat under him when he was Speaker of the House of Representatives during the early seventies. What I liked about him then, as always, was his bold and persistent contention that the citizen who best loved his party and was loyal to it, was loyal to and best loved his country. He was a foe to all Phariseeism and cant, recognized no place for guerillas or mugwumps who are ever ready to make terms with the party that offers the greatest inducements, and who, on getting their price, plot to dominate the power and the policy of that party. His reply to Italy: "The United States has never yet permitted its policy to be dictated by any foreign power, and it will not begin now," was an exhibition of his exalted Americanism. He was the Clay of the House of Representatives.

As in the case of Clay, his words cost him the Presidency. But for his passage at arms with Conkling, while both were members of the lower house of Congress, he would have been unquestionably elected President in 1884. He was the most ardent champion of his day of the protective tariff. His conception of a union in trade with all nations of the Western Hemisphere has resulted in the magnificent increase in commerce between North and South America. Blaine was the American Bismarck. Ere he passed to the beyond all our quarrels had ceased and we had become intimate friends.

CHAPTER X

1887-1888

I get behind Morton for U. S. Senator to defeat Miller—Morton vote delivered solidly to Hiscock, who is elected.

After Blaine's defeat the Republican party seemed more disrupted for a time than in 1882. The Half-breeds still held control of the dominant organization in 1885. They nominated Ira Davenport for Governor. David B. Hill defeated him, and the Democrats continued to rule the State.

My friends, early in 1887, besought me to again become a candidate for U. S. Senator. They assured me that I could defeat Warner Miller for reëlection. I had become so thoroughly immersed in business enterprises that I came to the conclusion that I did not desire to return to public life. While retaining an active part in politics I preferred that some other man than myself should be the candidate against Miller. After a conference with leaders of the party who had been acting with me, it was determined to do all we could to elect Levi P. Morton.

The late O. G. Warren, of Erie; John H. Camp, of Wayne; former Senator William B. Woodin,

JAMES G. BLAINE

of Auburn; John J. O'Brien and Sheridan Shook, of New York; Louis F. Payn, of Columbia; Hamilton Harris, of Albany, and others joined in the movement with alacrity. Those most active for Miller were the late Speaker James W. Husted, of Westchester; James W. Wadsworth, of Livingston; Henry G. Burleigh, of Washington; William H. Robertson, former Collector of the Port of New York; Congressman George West, of Saratoga; Andrew S. Draper, now State Commissioner of Education; Titus Sheard, of Herkimer; and Chairman Chester S. Cole, of the Republican State Committee.

While we were lining up the Morton forces, there suddenly appeared a third candidate. He was Frank Hiscock, of Syracuse, then a member of the House of Representatives. Behind him were Francis Hendricks, then a State Senator, but afterward Superintendent of Public Works under Governor Roosevelt, and Superintendent of Insurance under Governor Higgins; and Congressman James J. Belden.

MILLER'S DESPERATE FIGHT

There were 95 Republican members of the Legislature. Forty-eight votes were necessary to secure a nomination in the causcus. Again did the factions line up as Stalwarts and Half-breeds. A bitter struggle ensued. Adherents of Miller, from the beginning, sought to impress everybody

answered that they were ready to make that the issue if it was desired.

The caucus was called for the night of January 17. Two ballots were taken. On the first, Miller received 44, or only 4 votes less than a majority; Morton, 35; and Hiscock, 12. The second ballot showed a loss of 1 for Hiscock and a gain of 1 for Morton. It then became apparent that unless the Morton and Hiscock men combined, Miller stood a good chance of reëlection.

George Z. Erwin, of St. Lawrence, was in charge of the Morton forces on the floor. He and Hendricks, manager for Hiscock, quickly decided to get together and bring about an adjournment for a day. The Miller men strenuously fought this proposition. But the Morton-Hiscock combination finally won on it by a vote of 47 to 45. This gave an opportunity for breaking in on the Miller supporters.

Morton and Hiscock adherents worked like beavers all that night and the better part of the next day to divide the Miller contingent. It not only stood intact, but gained one recruit. Two more ballots were taken, Miller getting 45, Morton 36, and Hiscock 11. Again did the Miller men contest for more ballots that day. The Morton-Hiscock combination remained solid, however, and a second adjournment was ordered.

that a failure to reëlect him would cause the Half-breeds to lose the slight control they then possessed over the State organization. The Stalwarts

MORTON GETS OUT FOR HISCOCK

Still another night and day of hustling by all three factions followed. It became apparent to us, on the morning of the third day, that we could not nominate Morton, but we could Hiscock. That would be regarded as a Stalwart victory, and would, we believed, do much toward ending the domination of the Half-breeds for a long time.

Mr. Morton called upon Mr. Hiscock. He astonished the gentleman from Syracuse by saying: "If my supporters regard my wishes, and I think they will, they will vote for you at to-night's caucus. Your election would, in my judgment, produce less ill-feeling in the party than would result from the election of Miller."

Hiscock graciously expressed his thanks. After further conferences between friends of the New York banker and the candidate from Onondaga, it was agreed that should neither be nominated before the seventh ballot, the entire Morton strength would be transferred to Hiscock.

The break to Hiscock came on the seventh ballot. Rarely has such organization or loyalty been seen as was manifested when the thirty-six Morton members voted solidly for a candidate who had been able to muster at the most only twelve votes. Morton was withdrawn from the contest by Mr. Erwin in a speech in which he paid this tribute to the man who afterward became Vice-President and Governor of New York:

HISCOCK VICTOR

"Mr. Morton's friends are numerically stronger than Mr. Hiscock's. But Mr. Morton's influence appears to be greater. His responsibilities, therefore, are greater, and his duty more clearly defined. Recognizing this, he desires to give another evidence of his personal disinterestedness and generosity for the benefit of his party by an action tending to a union of all elements."

Speaker Husted, white with rage and distress, protested and called upon the Miller men to stick to their candidate to the finish. It was of no use. Every Morton member joined the Hiscock company. This gave Hiscock 47 and Miller 46 votes. Amid excitement which was intense and ominous for the Half-breeds, Assemblyman Frost, of Chautauqua, climbed on the Hiscock wagon. That settled it. Hiscock was then declared victor.

Thus was another nail driven into the bier of the Half-breeds. Thus was Warner Miller retired to private life, never to return to a position of great political prominence again.

CHAPTER XI

1888

Governor Hill removes me from office—He objects to my laundry work done in Owego—The trial a puppet show—Farcical ignorance of the jury—My attacks on the system ultimately produce corrective legislation.

David B. Hill was once sketched as a "Peanut Governor." He did some surprisingly petty things while he was running the Democratic machine. Many times he resorted to the most trivial excuses for displacing an official, merely because he happened to be a Republican. After Hill had succeeded Cleveland in 1885, he adopted the policy of "None but Democrats on Guard."

So far as possible he cleared out every Republican in office, and put a henchman of his own political persuasion in his place. How I happened to escape his axe for nearly three years, I never have been able to comprehend.

But in 1888, word reached me from the State Executive Chamber that my resignation as Quarantine Commissioner would be gladly accepted. I refused to comply. I was informed that if I did not quit, I would be removed. I challenged

Hill to behead me. He waited a while. Then I was notified that my right to longer hold my place would be contested in court, on the ground that I was not a resident of the city of New York. My reply was that for years I had resided at the Fifth Avenue Hotel.

Hill suddenly haled me into court. He produced the startling evidence that I had my laundry work done in Owego. That was the diabolical crime that was declared to unfit me to perform my official duties.

I pleaded guilty to having sent some collars, cuffs and shirts occasionally to my birthplace to be cleansed. And upon this confession I was ordered to surrender my office to a Hill Democrat.

The trial was denounced as a farce by the newspapers of the day. Grover Cleveland was President. The intelligence of the jury and its affection for the Democratic State boss were disclosed, when its members were asked who really was President of the United States. "Oh, that's easy. Dave Hill, of course," answered a number of them.

HILL'S MAN, MAYHEM, MY "JUDGE"

Supreme Court Justice S. L. Mayhem, of Schoharie, a devoted friend of Governor Hill, presided at the "trial." I regarded him then, as I have ever since regarded him, unfit to occupy the high judicial station to which he had been elevated. I never hesitated to say so. When I was assailed

by him in a personal letter, a year after I had been removed, I did not mince words in my reply.

Under date of December 4, 1889, Judge Mayhem addressed me the following abusive missive:

Schoharie, N. Y., December 4, 1889.

To Hon. Thomas C. Platt.

Dear Sir: About the 19th of January, 1889, you dictated to Mr. North, the acting political editor of the Albany *Express,* an article which was on that day published in that paper, a most malicious, unprovoked and false libellous attack upon me as an individual and judge; in which you, in the most unmistakable and unequivocal terms, charge me as a judge, with collusion with the Governor, for the purpose of accomplishing by extra-judicial methods, things which are forbidden in the regular course of law; and you, among other libellous charges, add: "Such a thing could not have happened under any other Governor than David B. Hill, and we are fain to believe that it could not have happened before any other Supreme Court Justice in this State, than Justice Mayhem."

As the author of this libel, you, of course, are familiar with it, and the repetition of it here is therefore unnecessary.

I have waited with great confidence for a vindication of my judicial action in that trial, by the Appellant Courts, which has at last been promulgated by the unanimous decision of the Court

of Appeals. But my private and judicial character remains unvindicated. That can only be done by a full and complete retraction of the libel by its authors, or by the verdict of a jury in a civil or criminal proceeding in the courts, to which a citizen may, as a poor but last resort, appeal for vindication.

The lapse of time since the publication of the libel had so healed the wound inflicted on my self-respect and pride of character, that I would probably have passed the matter by, but for a fresh assault made upon me in the New York *Press* of the 27th ult. That paper, owned largely by you, in an article doubtless inspired by you, smarting under the effect of the recent decision by the Court of Appeals, again refers to the trial before me, and characterizes me as a judge, not long before the trial, lifted from the obscurity of the Schoharie County bar to the Supreme Court, by Governor Hill.

At the time of this trial, you must have known that I did not hold the position of Supreme Court Judge by the commission of Governor Hill, but by the vote of legal voters (voting where they resided) of the Third Judicial District of the State of New York, a position to which I was unanimously nominated, at a judicial convention, composed of some of the best men of that district, whose acts were open and notorious, in the daytime, which could be attested by a multitude of witnesses, who were not compelled to use step-

ladders to look through a transom by gas-light to witness what occurred or how it was done.

I was in no way instrumental in having your case brought before me, but found the case on the calendar of the regular circuit, to which I was by law and the rules of the court assigned, and tried it the same as I would have tried any other case between any other parties. I recognized no politics in the case, except such as was in my judgment improperly sought to be forced into it by one of your own counsel.

The object of this letter is to give you fair and reasonable notice that unless proper and suitable retraction is made by you, in as public a manner as the libel was published, I shall seek my vindication before a jury of that county in which you are pleased to say that I was an obscure member of the bar.

Truly yours,
S. L. Mayhem,
Schoharie, N. Y.

Thomas C. Platt, New York City.

HIS UNFITNESS FOR HIS JOB

This was my reply:

United States Express Company, Office of the President, 49 Broadway, New York.
December 7, 1889.

Hon. S. L. Mayhem, Schoharie, N. Y.

Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your letter of the

4th inst. I have no retraction to make, either publicly or privately, of any statement I ever uttered with reference to your relations as a Supreme Court Justice to the suit instigated by Governor Hill to oust me from the office of Quarantine Commissioner. I deny, however, that I dictated to Mr. North, or any other man connected with the Albany *Express,* the editorial article of January 19, 1889, to which you refer, or that I even suggested that it be written. I never saw it nor heard of it until it appeared in print, and was not in any way directly or indirectly responsible for its appearance.

I was not aware, until the receipt of your letter, of the alleged "fresh assault made upon you in the New York *Press* of the 27th ult.," to which you refer, and have no knowledge whatever of the paternity of the article. I own no stock or interest whatever in said newspaper, and never have owned any.

Allow me to add, in conclusion, that the gratuitous personal insult conveyed in your communication convinces me, if nothing else had, that you are unfit for the exalted position you occupy.

Yours truly,

T. C. Platt.

OUR DISGRACEFUL JURY SYSTEM

If I am not mistaken, Judge Mayhem did not continue on the bench longer than the term he

was then serving. That indicated what the people thought of him. If I helped to dethrone him, I am thankful. My experience with the Hill jury reminds me that I once wrote a number of attacks on the wretched jury system that disgraced the State in 1869, and later. These, together with aroused public sentiment, helped to secure amendments to the laws by Republican Legislatures in the early nineties, which eventually brought about a correction of abuses. One of my onslaughts follows:

Hamlet, in his soliloquy, favors the public with a general inventory of "bare bodkin" stimulators and suicide-promoters, and makes "the law's delay" one of the prolific sources of mortal misery, despair and destruction. In those dark ages, justice was universally regarded not only as blind, but deaf, dumb and rheumatic; and it is painfully apparent that the Royal Dane had endured bitter personal experiences of old English Chancery practice. It is more than possible that, at the very moment he gave utterance to that memorable lamentation of

"To be or not to be,"

if he had been surprised with the announcement of a favorable verdict in his favorite lawsuit, a complete reformation might have been effected in his character and conduct and Shakspeare's

occupation would have gone. At any rate, it is safe to presume that the text of that melancholy soliloquy would have been slightly amended if the "Bard of Avon" had survived until the present greenback era; these times so pregnant with half-witted magistrates, short summonses, summary proceedings, compromise verdicts, Cole-Hiscock forces, political judges, citizen mills and injunction factories. The truth is, it is not the law's delay, but the law's doubt, which nowadays makes the pursuit of justice so aggravating and brings the tortured client to the serious contemplation of Hamlet's question and conclusion.

JURY "BAMBOOZLERS," "HEROES"

In the days of the Royal Dane, the brave litigant knew that a propitious verdict was only a rare question of time; in the days of the live Yankee a satisfactory solution of a lawsuit is supposed to be a simple matter of good luck and sharp legal "log-rolling." A modern novice going to law to secure his rights is as proper a subject for compassion as a greenhorn taking to Wall Street to get rich. Nothing but a special guardianship exercised by some shrewd operator at the bar or "the board" will save either from ruin or suicide. The hero of the period is he who can most successfully bamboozle a jury or "corner the street." The fact has become notorious, that with mixed American juries, personal preju-

dices, political spites and all manner of motives, except "the law and the evidence," control conclusions and regulate verdicts.

Speaking of compromise verdicts calls to mind a case in point, which occurred within a judicial district which boasts of the intelligence of its panels, and within a county where lawyers lament over the brevity of the circuit calendars. At a regular term of the March circuit, a certain cause was called in its order, being an action on a contract. The plaintiff demanded damages in the sum of thirteen hundred dollars. The evidence, although voluminous, was not conflicting, except upon immaterial points. The charge of his Honor, Judge B——, was void of ambiguity and pointing in one direction. All agreed that it was a clear case for the plaintiff. The jury retired late in the afternoon and, to the utter astonishment of all concerned, remained out all night long. The next morning, at the opening of the session, they came into court, hungry, sleepy and sulky, and delivered a verdict for the full amount demanded and expected.

A revelation of the secret history of their prolonged deliberation disclosed the source of the trouble in the person of one independent reasoner and peculiar interpreter of testimony, with strong personal prejudices against the plaintiff, and pecuniary obligations to the defendant, who exhausted all of those hours and his resources of argument to bring over the stubborn eleven to a

conclusion of no cause of action. At last the obstinate juror succumbed, and consented to a plan of compromise upon the basis of each indicating by ballot his estimate of the damage to be awarded, and the average be made the measure of the verdict. The canvass of that vote revealed ten ballots for the plaintiff's full claim, one for "no cause," and one for precisely double the demanded damage. One provident twelfth of that curious dozen proved equal to the emergency and brought up the average to its just proportion.

"GLORIOUS UNCERTAINTY" OF LAWS

Another remarkable illustration of the glorious uncertainty of the law was developed in one of those great American contests, called horse-suits, which came on for trial last summer in a justice's court, not a hundred miles distant from the legal hub of Tioga County. It was a jury trial, and the promiscuous dozen were collected by the usual scouring process. In that number was included a surly, stubborn, stolid, self-willed Dutchman, a good butcher and a bitter hater. The trial proceeded with the spirit and dignity appertaining to such tribunals, but the plaintiff managed to make his case so strong that an unprejudiced observer could have seen no real cause for contention or delay in settling verdict. Yet, when the jury retired for deliberation, it was found they were a unit, with the exception of a pugnacious

gentleman from Germany, who demanded a verdict for the defendant. The united batteries were brought to bear upon the heavy Dutch citadel, with Quaker guns of suasion and solid shot of argument, but the fleshly fortress firmly and silently resisted every attack. Finally, after exhausting all their resources, the irate five insisted upon a disclosure of the reasons for his convictions and intimated that they would continue in session until he would make up his mind to give the plaintiff judgment. This threat stirred up the Dutch "dander," and arising in his majesty and shaking his brawny fist, the conscientious juryman thusly delivered himself: "I dells you, py shinks, der pishmires shall dake me troo der keyhole, pefore I give ter tam rascal zhooghment. Somedimes, two years ago, he sheet me on some sheeps."

This confession of faith abruptly terminated the case without agreement.

About So So.

BENJAMIN HARRISON

CHAPTER XII

1888-1891

I head the delegation to the National Convention and help nominate Harrison—Carry New York for him—Am denied the promised Secretaryship of the Treasury—Decline the Spanish mission—Nominate Fassett for Governor—Flower's election—Renewed demands for my head—Address to young men.

It was in 1888 that the Stalwarts obtained supreme and undisputed control of the New York State organization for the first time in a number of years. We went to the Chicago convention unpledged to any candidate for President. My personal preference was the late Russell A. Alger, of Michigan. Chauncey M. Depew gave the New York delegation a little dinner. Before it was over, the delegation was first pledged to him, and then to Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana. Chauncey called it a "harmony dinner" before Harrison was nominated. I guess Chauncey thought we were jollying him and Colonel Elliot F. Shepard, who managed his campaign, when we suddenly broke away and cast almost the entire vote of the delegation for the Hoosier. Levi P. Morton, of

New York, was named for Vice-President. He was in high favor in the East, and contributed much to the triumph that followed.

Immediately after the nomination of Harrison, friends suggested to him that I be given the Secretaryship of the Treasury in case he was elected. Indeed, a promise of this portfolio, which I and members of the National Committee regarded as binding, was made. That promise was either forgotten or ignored. Anyway, it never was fulfilled.

MY AMBITION TO BE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

I am frank to admit that one of the most poignant disappointments of my life was my failure to become at some time Secretary of the Treasury. It was a portfolio for which I believed myself to be better equipped than for any other. I had from my college days made an assiduous study of financial questions. As president of express, railroad, coal and iron, and other corporations, I had learned a great deal about how to manage fiscal affairs. Indeed, I had for many years been very ambitious to conduct the Government finances. When I received what my friends and myself accepted as a positive pledge from President Harrison that he would gratify my aspiration, I felt that I had nothing more in the world to seek. But when, notwithstanding a letter in President Harrison's own handwriting promising the

appointment, I was suddenly informed that William Windom, of Minnesota, had been selected, I felt that there was little use of pinning my faith upon anybody, or training myself for high office. To some it would have been a bit of solace that no other New Yorker was made Secretary of the Treasury. I had something to do with preventing the selection of one man who had set his heart on the same office; that was Warner Miller.

WHY MILLER DID NOT GET IT

Soon after election, I was notified that the Union League Club of New York City was to meet and indorse Warner Miller for Secretary of the Treasury. Miller had just retired from the U. S. Senate, and had the previous year defeated himself for Governor by making what I regarded as a very injudicious speech on the liquor question. I was not a member of the Union League Club. I was not known to possess many friends there. The few I had, however, got together. Though Joseph H. Choate, afterward Ambassador to Great Britain, had in his pocket a resolution indorsing Miller for the Secretaryship of the Treasury, it was never offered. Choate, never known to bother much about the details of politics, arrived at the meeting late. Some one whispered to him that a canvass of the members showed a majority against Miller, and that it would be ridiculous to submit a resolution unless its adoption could be assured. Choate quit.

Miller was never indorsed by the Union League Club, nor was he made Secretary of the Treasury. William Windom, of Minnesota, took the place, and President Harrison finally permitted me to name General Benjamin F. Tracy, from my own county, as Secretary of the Navy.

In July, 1890, Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, apparently deploring the differences between President Harrison and my friends, sought to act as a mediator. He urged the President to try and square matters by offering me a foreign mission. Harrison, thinking he might heal the wound caused by his refusal to make me a member of his Cabinet, authorized Secretary Blaine to offer me the Spanish mission. Secretary Blaine wrote this letter, which never before was published:

OFFERED SPANISH MISSION

Department of State, Washington, D. C.
June 28, 1890.

My Dear Mr. Platt:

By the President's direction, and with great personal pleasure myself, I tender to you the mission to Spain, made vacant by the resignation of Hon. T. W. Palmer, of Michigan.

Hoping that your convenience and your desires will combine to persuade you to accept the position, I am,

Your friend, sincerely,
James G. Blaine.

Inclined to suspect that Harrison was trying to get me out of the country, I held the Blaine letter until July 5th, when I declined the portfolio offered, in this letter:

New York, July 5, 1890.

My Dear Mr. Blaine:

I am in receipt of your esteemed favor of the 28th ult., conveying to me the President's instructions and your compliments, tendering the mission to Spain made vacant by the resignation of Governor Palmer, of Michigan.

While properly esteeming the honor conferred, and duly appreciating this evidence of the President's confidence and your personal regard, I feel constrained to return my declination of the position. Numerous business engagements and obligations preclude the possibility of my accepting the responsibility of office of any name or nature, local or Federal, however honorable and alluring it may be. I shall be content to continue to serve in the ranks, asking no other reward than the proud consciousness of possessing the confidence and esteem of those true Republicans, who, like yourself, have made the "Grand Old Party" immortal.

Yours faithfully,

T. C. Platt.

Harrison later recognized the organization, of which I had now become everywhere the acknowl-

edged leader, by appointing J. Sloat Fassett Collector of the Port of New York. Fassett's appointment was about the only other important one made by Harrison for the State organization, though Cornelius Van Cott, named for Postmaster of New York, was classed as an organization man.

HARRISON IGNORES THOSE WHO ELECTED HIM

Because of President Harrison's refusal to comply with what were deemed reasonable requests of my associates and myself, as well as members of the rank and file of the machine, a good deal of discontent was soon exhibited. The Hill Democratic machine absolutely dictated State patronage. And yet a Republican President, who but for the devoted exertions of the regular party organization of New York, it was maintained, would have been forced to abandon his White House chair to Grover Cleveland, either forgot or ignored the men most responsible for his victory. We were quite as resentful when Harrison turned a frigid, contemptuous shoulder to Chairman Matthew S. Quay, of the National Committee.

But for Quay's masterful conduct of the campaign in New York State, where he stopped tens of thousands of fraudulent votes, Harrison never would have been President. The skill of the Pennsylvania manager must be apparent, when the returns showed a fourteen thousand plurality

for Harrison over Cleveland, while Hill defeated Miller for Governor by about eighteen thousand.

QUAY GREATEST POLITICAL GENIUS

Matthew S. Quay was, in my judgment, the ablest politician this country ever produced. He could and did win the greatest and hardest battles with or without money. He was always a conservative in the protection of business interests, and invariably maintained the Pennsylvania view in that respect. He believed that business men had a right to profit, and therefore could always command money in any amount when he desired it. When, on the other hand, he discovered that the money of special interests in special campaigns had been raised against him, he was accustomed, as he put it, to "raise the fiery cross" and go to the people direct.

He exhibited consummate skill in calculating political quantities. The secret of his success in politics was in finding out how many voters he had with him, and if he did not have enough, find where he could get them; and then he got them. He knew that success depended, many times, on the smallest fraction, and he was constantly after that fraction. That was shown by him in 1888 when, as chairman of the National Committee, he carried New York State for Harrison by about fourteen thousand plurality.

Quay was small in stature, had sharp, almond-

like eyes, was exceedingly reticent to those who did not know him intimately, but most charming and approachable to his confidants. Instead of being, as he was popularly supposed, a plebeian, without education or literary acquaintance, he was very fond of the best books and the standard authors and literature, and was a great student of science. He possessed one of the finest libraries in the country.

Quay was one of the best informed men on heraldry in America. He once dumbfounded university presidents and other cultured guests, at a dinner given by Charlemagne Tower, by proving that they were all wrong as to the origin of a certain family and coat-of-arms.

Quay once personally told Roosevelt that he (Roosevelt) was responsible for his reëlection to the United States Senate in the later nineties. When Roosevelt expressed surprise, Quay laughed and answered: "Why, when John Wanamaker and others were trying to defeat me, I declared for you for Vice-President. Then the anti-Quay movement collapsed."

REED, THE PARLIAMENTARY CZAR

In having our recommendations for office turned down by President Harrison, I had the company, not only of Quay, but Speaker Thomas B. Reed.

Speaker Reed, than whom no man ever up to his day ran the lower branch of Congress with

such an imperial sway, broke with Harrison the moment he learned that the President had refused to consider his recommendation for the Collectorship of the Port of Portland, Me., his own home, but had appointed a son of Neal Dow, Prohibitionist agitator, because Secretary of State Blaine and Senator William P. Frye urged it. Reed denounced this as a gratuitous insult to the third greatest officer in the United States.

He fulminated against Harrison in profane language, in which he was as original and adept as any one I ever have known, declined ever after to enter the White House, and refused to even meet Harrison, I am informed, until the day of his death.

Reed, in his personal appearance, little betokened the intellectual giant and man of iron he was. But while he was a veritable Goliath in stature, his bouncing body, topped by a small head, reminded one of an inflated balloon with a peg for a summit. His usual twangy, drawling manner of speech caused one who knew him not to mistake him for an Aroostook farmer, possessed of an education such as the old Maine colleges used to afford. He was proud, unforgiving—relentless in his warfare upon those with whom he disputed. He lost many a friend by considering as a personal affront, to be punished by the quickest and even brutal method, any act offensive to him. He was constantly measuring swords with Blaine, Frye and Hale, of his home

State of Maine; was frequently at loggerheads with Harrison, McKinley and Joseph H. Manley, his closest friend, and seemed never to cultivate, even if he knew, diplomacy.

HOW REED LOST THE PRESIDENCY

His domineering, revengeful characteristics lost him the only chance he ever had for being named for the Presidency. He was in 1896 the choice of a number of New England States, and, after Morton, was the preference of New York. But he had unwittingly, perhaps, antagonized so many States that when Manley, his manager, reached the St. Louis convention, he was satisfied that his nomination was an impossibility. When Manley surrendered to Hanna and McKinley, and withdrew Reed, the Speaker, who had set his heart on heading the ticket, caused the sparks to fly off telegraph wires in registering his rebukes. Sam Fassenden, of Connecticut, was so infuriated over Manley's capitulation, that he dressed him down with: "Joe, God hates a quitter."

Reed hardly condoned Manley's desertion until his dying day.

It was as Speaker of the House of Representatives, however, that Reed shone brilliant, belligerent, forceful and Draconic. His adversaries called him Autocrat, Czar, Tyrant. He merely maintained that the will of the majority was law; that members of a filibustering minority could

not be present and absent simultaneously; that Congress was a business, not merely a deliberative body. He was a past-master in directing legislation, as adroit a parliamentarian as I ever knew, and as presiding officer of the fifty-first House, achieved a reputation that for fearlessness, devotion to country and party was well-nigh matchless.

HARRISON, THE QUARRELSOME

Harrison not only became embroiled with Quay, Reed and others, but also William McKinley, afterward President, but then floor leader of the House. Harrison quarreled with him over tariff, Federal elections, ship subsidy, and other legislation, and before a year of his administration had passed, appeared on good terms with few leaders of his party, except James G. Blaine, his Secretary of State, and "Uncle Jerry" Rusk, his rollicking Secretary of Agriculture.

Harrison soon became known as the "White House Iceberg." His real initial local blow at the New York organization was the appointment of Colonel Joel B. Erhardt as Collector of the Port. He made this at the behest of the Union League Club, foe of the Republican machine from the day I became its head. Erhardt proved unacceptable, and in 1891 was removed. I recommended J. Sloat Fassett for his successor. Fassett had made an excellent record as leader of the State Senate. Harrison, alarmed over threats to

defeat him for a renomination, finally appointed Fassett Collector of the Port. But it became necessary for Fassett to resign in 1891, within a few months of his appointment, because of his nomination for the Governorship.

FASSETT'S NOMINATION A MISTAKE

Fond as I was personally of Fassett, I strongly advised at first against his running for Governor and sought to induce Andrew D. White, late president of Cornell University and afterward Ambassador to Germany, to head the ticket. White was willing to stand. But Fassett had for years sought the honor, and the young Republicans were almost solidly behind him.

Skeptical of the result of the Gubernatorial contest, but relying on a promise that an organization man would be named for Collector in Fassett's place, we nominated Fassett for Governor. Fassett made an aggressive and brilliant campaign. He was defeated. Fassett charged that a huge Democratic campaign fund, estimated at from a quarter to half a million dollars, proved his undoing. Anyway, Roswell F. Flower beat him by about 47,000 plurality.

The moment the returns came in, the old Halfbreeds renewed their demands for my head. They went to Washington and insisted to the President that he must go even further than he already had toward depriving me of the leadership of an or-

ganization which had stuck to me, though all but naked and starving. Harrison responded by doling out patronage to my bitterest enemies and lopping off the heads of such of my friends in the Federal service as had been fortunate enough to get places under it. The late James J. Belden, then a member of Congress, voiced his protest against the continuance of our régime when he protested to the President: "What we want in the New York leadership is young blood. Platt is too old."

To this Sloat Fassett retorted:

"Well, Belden ought to know. Judging from the plurality for Flower in Belden's home district, he got some of my young blood, all right."

Warner Miller, still smarting because I had prevented his entering the Harrison Cabinet, and also because I supported Frank Hiscock against him for the Senate in 1887, was a frequent complainant against me at the White House. So were Cornelius N. Bliss, afterward Secretary of the Interior in the McKinley Cabinet, and other members of the Union League Club.

Mischief-makers went to the White House and told the President that I had not only been most malevolent in my opposition to his nomination, but had secretly sought to secure his defeat at the polls. They insisted that the only salvation of the party in New York, and the only chance he would have of insuring himself of a friendly delegation in 1892, was to supplant me.

CLARKSON ANSWERS THE FALSEHOODS

Let General Clarkson, then First Assistant Postmaster-General under Harrison, answer these lies. There is before me this testimony from him:

"In 1888, it was the New York delegation that, choosing in the final decision between Allison and Harrison, nominated Harrison; and it was Platt that took the New York delegation to this choice. In the campaign following, it was Platt who, in support of Quay and his National Committee, saved the election of Mr. Harrison by saving to him the State of New York, and by causing it to vote against a son of its own, already in the Presidential chair, and backed for reëlection by many of the largest financial and business interests in the metropolis. It was his genius and Quay's that saved to Harrison the Presidency. If either of them had failed to do what he did, Harrison could not and would not have been elected.

"It remains unsolved, or at least unproved, whether General Harrison did tender to Mr. Platt the Secretaryship of the Treasury. From a letter in Mr. Harrison's handwriting he had every reason for believing that the pledge had been made. The officers of the National Committee, who saw the letter, believed as much as he that it was a pledge and a sincere one. The truth may have been perjured by an intermediary; nothing else could have made the letter else than a pledge of a

Cabinet seat. Yet Mr. Platt accepted with grace this disappointment as to the place he has probably coveted more than any other position, and which he had the peculiar abilities to fill.

BLAINE STRONG; HARRISON WEAK

"He supported Harrison's administration, and it was no reason that was personal that led him to oppose Harrison's nomination in 1892. He knew, as did all the better posted men in the party, that Blaine, who could keep in line hundreds and thousands of low tariff Republicans, who would not vote for Harrison, or for any candidate doubtful on Reciprocity, and would bring to the polls hundreds of thousands of other Republicans who had been alienated and chilled by Harrison's low temperature of action toward the party workers, offered the only chance for Republican success in that year.

"If Ohio had voted with the Blaine men, on the Alabama contest, Blaine could and would have been nominated, or McKinley might have been. McKinley was a candidate, too, active but receptive—despite all former impressions and all later statements. And Mr. Hanna was his leader."

Remember that the gentleman quoted had been vice-chairman and chairman of the Republican National Committee and served as First Assistant Postmaster-General under the Harrison administration.

Perhaps it was Belden's insistence to the President: "What we need is young blood," that inspired me to issue an address about this time, urging young men to get into politics. The promulgation of this address was followed by the flocking of thousands of brainy, hustling, devoted young Republicans into the organization. Through them I was enabled to confound those who were crying for my head.

Extracts from that address are, I believe, as pertinent and practicable to-day as they were in the days of Harrison. Here are some of them:

ADVICE TO YOUNG MEN

"Every young man should take an interest in politics. He should make a study of economic questions and familiarize himself with the principles that underlie the two great political parties. It is a duty he owes to himself and to his country. Under our Republican form of government, the officeholders are merely the servants of the people. But if the people neglect their duty, what can we expect from their servants? Does it not follow that a failure on the part of the suffering people to guard their interests will result in deteriorating the service? No successful business man would think of intrusting his business entirely to his employees. The moment he adopted such a policy, he would cease to be a success.

"The ordinary principles of business should be

applied to politics. All the evils growing out of our political system can be traced to a failure on the part of the people to do their duty. There would have been no Tweed ring but for the criminal carelessness, indifference and neglect of the intelligent voters. To the same indifference we are indebted for the present domination of Tammany in this city.

"New York City contains a large mass of machine voters—men who have neither the independence nor the inclination to favor a clean, honest government. They follow the Tammany organization blindly, whither it listeth, and never ask any questions. Past experience has shown, however, that a large percentage of the conservative people do not interest themselves in the practical business of politics as they ought. Perhaps the very men who complain the loudest against the domination of Tammany and corruption in high places do not exercise the elective franchise more than half the time, and rarely, if ever, attend a primary. Take, for instance, the example of the Twenty-first Assembly District, which is in some respects the representative Republican district of this city. Out of the 3,000 or 4,000 Republican voters who are registered in that district, not more than 1,200 have taken the trouble to identify themselves with the Republican organization. In other words, the work of selecting party leaders and nominating candidates is left to a very small minority of the party. I have no

patience with the stay-at-homes, who rail at the selection of unfit men, but do nothing to remedy the evils.

"The importance of a young man commencing early to take an active part in politics is obvious. Men are largely creatures of habit. Let the habit be once formed, of ignoring their political duty, and the chances are that it will stick to them through life; but if, on the other hand, they start right, by identifying themselves with some political organization, they will become good and useful citizens.

"My advice to all young men is to take up the duty of politics as early as possible and familiarize yourself with all public questions. Do not stop there. Make up your minds to which party your conviction leads you, and then do all you can to strengthen the hands of that organization. I should not advise any man to join with the Democratic or Republican parties simply because he has been reared in that particular faith. Let him decide the question of his political manhood for himself. Traditions are all very well, but every man is surer of himself who makes his own independent investigation and forms his own opinions.

"Naturally, as a Republican from conviction, I believe that a careful study of the political conditions of the day by an intelligent man will lead him directly into the ranks of the Republican party; but I recognize the right of intelligent men

to honestly differ on political as well as other questions.

"If a law could be passed, compelling every one to give a part of his time to the consideration of political matters, or at least to exercise his privilege of franchise, we should have a better and more efficient government of our local affairs, as well as in the State or nation.

"The young men are the main reliance of the country. Upon their shoulders rests the responsibility for the maintenance of our Republican form of government. About the strongest argument that can be advanced in a candidate's favor before a political convention is that he is popular with the young men. Just why this is so is not difficult of solution. The young men are more active and enthusiastic than the old stagers. The saying, 'Young men for action; old men for counsel,' is true in politics; but no party can hope to succeed in the future without the support of the young men.

"The young men (and when I say young, I do not mean necessarily a youth just emerging from his teens, but men in the prime of life) will continue to occupy a prominent place in our politics. The tendency will be to increase their importance, rather than diminish it. This element will probably decide the next Presidential contest. During the last few years there has been a gratifying indication that the young men of the country are beginning to appreciate their political responsibili-

ties and importance more keenly. The formation of young men's clubs, in both parties, all over the country, is a very healthy sign. These clubs should be increased in number and their membership doubled. Every man under the age of fifty should become personally identified with a political organization. The study of politics is the most neglected branch of a young American's education. I hope to see the time when it will be the exception to find a young man who does not take an active interest in the political affairs of the country. When that time comes, we shall have less scandals in public office, and a better and cleaner administration of the government in all its branches, from the top to the bottom.

"This is an excellent time for the young men of the country to organize and equip themselves for the next great political battle. It promises to be as exciting and as hotly contested as any in the history of the country. The party that can command the support of the live men will surely win. Every politician recognizes that fact.

"Years ago it used to be the policy of political leaders to keep the young men in the background. That was a serious mistake. The man who neglects his political obligations is not a good citizen in the highest sense of the word."

CHAPTER XIII

1891-1899

A carnival of Tammany knavery in New York City forces me to direct Legislative inquiries —Three investigations produce scandalous revelations—What was done to cure maladministration through new laws.

It has been asserted that I have been the sponsor for more Legislative inquiry committees than any one man in the State. It has happened, during my leadership of the party and while I exerted some influence at Albany, that because of abuses in city and county governments, not only in New York, but in other municipalities, appeals were made to me by honest citizens to aid them in correcting maladministration, first by ascertaining the cause, and then applying the remedies in the form of amendments to the laws.

I very gladly advocated the Legislative inquiries of 1891, 1894 and 1899. All, while they disclosed unspeakable misgovernment, enabled the Legislatures to intelligently enact laws which, in the main, have, I believe, assured to the municipalities of the State cleaner and better administrations than at any time within their history.

Throughout the years of 1888 and 1889, I was constantly importuned by representative citizens of the State to help them secure as nearly ideal conduct of their municipal affairs as possible. It was impressed upon me that in the absence of a general law, great diversity prevailed between the charters of the various cities, which provoked incessant appeals to the Legislature, unwarrantably consumed its time, loaded up the statute books until they became confused, and made city governments unstable and uncertain. Again, accusations were made that, particularly in New York City, flagrant violations of the law affecting the administration of the excise, police, dock and other departments were being daily perpetrated. Mayor Abram S. Hewitt, a Democrat, in his official message to the Board of Aldermen, January 17, 1888, arraigned the lack of rigid enforcement of the excise law in this language: "After repeated complaints to the police, I discovered that the justification and excuse for the failure to abate this scandal was to be found in the fact that the proprietors, when arrested, were never or rarely brought to trial.

"More than five thousand cases accumulated in the Court of General Sessions during the previous two years. As a matter of fact, the ability to give bail was a practical immunity for crime. I would urge that additional legislation be secured for the establishment, either of an excise court for the trial of these cases, or for conferring of

power on the Special Sessions to empanel a jury, where, under the Constitution, the offender avails himself of the right to a jury trial."

Mayor Hewitt also complained that the New York City water front had been permitted to grow up without any system of regulation or control; that there was a fruitful source of conflicting claims as to title between the city and individuals, and as to jurisdiction between the different city departments; that the control of streets had practically passed into the hands of corporations, and that many laws governing the municipality had been reduced to a state of confusion and their interpretation made difficult, because of successive enactments, while the local ordinances were seldom understood by the people, and often irreconcilable.

I quote Mayor Hewitt because it has become the fashion among some critics to stigmatize all Legislative investigations as "political smelling schemes." Inasmuch as the Legislature was Republican, and Hewitt was a Democrat, no charge of partisanship by us was warranted so far as the inquiry into New York municipal affairs was concerned.

FASSETT COMMITTEE PROBES

After consultation with Chairman Francis Hendricks, of the Senate Committee on Cities, and other influential leaders of the upper house at Al-

bany, I concluded that the popular demand for such an inquiry as was sought ought to be granted. January 20, 1890, the Senate adopted a resolution, authorizing the Committee on Cities to undertake a general inquiry concerning the government of cities, and report upon the question of the amendment and systematization of the general body of laws relative to them. Francis Hendricks, James W. Birkett, Lispenard Stewart, Gilbert A. Deane and J. Sloat Fassett were named as the committtee. Senator Hendricks was occupied by manifold duties at Albany and at home; therefore Senator Fassett really handled the burden of the inquiry, and the committee became known as the Fassett Committee.

GROSS ABUSES DIVULGED

This committee divulged many gross abuses in the governments of New York and other cities and recommended many excellent corrective laws, which were afterward enacted. In its report, the Fassett Committee declared that the chief difficulties which underlay the government of cities were:

First. Over-legislation, and too frequent yielding by the Legislature to the importunities of cities for the passage of special or local bills. (Bills were recommended and passed, but some of them were vetoed by Governor Hill, intended to protect cities against the power of individuals

to appeal to the Legislature, and protect the law-making body from entertaining such appeals.)

Second. The absence of a general law for the government of cities, whereby larger powers should be granted to local authorities, and the Legislature relieved.

Third. The absence of complete and accurate information relative to municipal administration, and the necessity for the enactment of a law requiring a series of annual reports to be filed by each municipality, in order that the Legislature and people generally could advise themselves fully with regard to the indebtedness, taxation and expenditure. The committee recommended and had passed another bill for the appointment of a commission to draft a general law for the government of cities.

This, I believe, was vetoed by Governor Hill.

The Fassett Committee found the system of accounting in the various cities unintelligible and chaotic, and sought to remedy the evil by legislation requiring cities to file annual reports with the State Comptroller. In New York City the committee secured evidence of the greatest inequality in the assessment of real and personal property for purposes of taxation. The excise law, as shown by the evidence submitted, was a "dead letter and its execution a humbug."

The Police Department conditions were practically the same as described hereafter in the conclusions of the Lexow and Mazet committees. The

Dock Department was, as to efficiency, hardly worth the trouble of establishing, and legislation was recommended to reorganize and conserve to the people the great water front. The Department of Charities and Corrections, which spent nearly two millions a year, was administered in direct violation of law, and legislation was enacted separating the two and providing for more rigid enforcement of the statutes.

The Commissioners of Accounts were pilloried for winking at frauds they were sworn to probe. Nearly $400,000 had been squandered in copying dead city records. The Street Cleaning Department, though spending over $1,255,835 annually, did everything but keep the streets clean. Generally speaking, the payrolls were packed with men named by heads of departments, who made the places mere political prizes and avoided responsibility for their acts by sheltering them with the protection of the civil service laws.

The Fassett Committee inquiry was but the forerunner of others which produced even more startling disclosures as to the misgovernment of the metropolis.

LEXOW'S INVESTIGATION OF 1894

Heretofore I have incidentally mentioned how in 1894 there was created a Legislative committee, which brought to light such scandals in the police and other New York City departments, that the

people arose in their might and turned out of office the Tammany administration that was responsible for them. Despite the evidence taken by the Fassett Committee of 1890, and the enactment of laws intended to correct abuses then uncovered, the press, the Chamber of Commerce, Society for the Prevention of Crime and other representative organizations produced to me and to Republican Legislative leaders sworn testimony that police corruption and extortion continued; that through the police citizens were deprived of the right to cast their ballots and have them counted as cast, and that a veritable carnival of fraud prevailed in practically every other city department.

I became convinced, upon complaints submitted by the Chamber of Commerce, the Society for the Prevention of Crime, and other commercial and social bodies, that it would be necessary to bring another Legislative committee to New York. After consultation with the Legislative leaders, and a promise of coöperation from them, a resolution was offered in the Senate and adopted January 30, 1894, declaring:

CORRUPTION AMONG POLICE

It has been charged, and maintained, that the Police Department of the City of New York is corrupt; that grave abuses exist in said department; that in said city the laws for the suppres-

sion of crime, and the municipal ordinances and regulations duly enacted for the peace, security, order and the police of said city, are not strictly enforced by said department, and by the police force acting thereunder; that said laws and ordinances, when enforced, are enforced by said department and said police force with partiality and favoritism, and that said partiality and favoritism are the result of corrupt bargains between offenders against said laws or ordinances, on the one hand, and said department and police force on the other; that money and promise of service to be rendered are paid to public officials by the keepers or proprietors of gamehouses, disorderly houses or liquor saloons, or others who have offended, or are offending against said laws, or ordinances, in exchange for promises of immunity from punishment or police interference; and that said department, and said police force, by means of threats and otherwise, extort money, or other valuable consideration from many persons in said city, as the price of such immunity from police interference, or punishment for real or supposed violations of said laws and ordinances.

The Senate named as members of the Committee of Seven: Senators Clarence Lexow, Edmund O'Connor, George W. Robertson, Cuthbert W. Pond, Daniel Bradley and Jacob A. Cantor.

FLOWER OFFERS OBSTRUCTION

Right at the beginning of the proposed investigation, Roswell P. Flower, a Democratic Governor, sought to block it by vetoing the bill to defray counsel fees and committee expenses. May 8, 1894, Governor Flower disapproved the bill, setting aside $25,000 to liquidate the cost of the inquiry on the ground that "the bill has every appearance of being a misuse of public money and Legislative power for the manufacture of political capital or the division of political spoils."

The Chamber of Commerce, however, guaranteed to the committee counsel fees, and John W. Goff, of New York, and William A. Sutherland, of Rochester, were selected as attorneys. The result of the investigation showed conclusively, in the first instance, that almost every conceivable crime against the elective franchise was either committed or permitted by the police, invariably in the interest of the dominant Democratic organization of Tammany Hall.

The Lexow Committee report classified them as follows: Arrest and brutal treatment of Republican voters, watchers and workers; open violation of the election law; canvassing for Tammany Hall candidates; invasion of election booths; forcing of Tammany Hall pasters upon Republican voters; general intimidation of the voters by the police directly, and by Tammany Hall election district captains in the presence and with the

concurrence of the police; colonization of voters; illegal registration and repeating, aided and knowingly permitted by the police; denial of Republican voters and election district officers of their legal rights and privileges; coöperation and acquiescence in the usurpation by Tammany Hall election district captains and watchers of alleged rights and privileges in violation of law.

WHOLESALE DEBAUCHERY AT THE POLLS

It was shown that during the years 1891, 1892 and 1893, many thousands of unlawful ballots were cast and counted by the active coöperation and connivance of the police.

The report continues: Sufficient appears upon the record to show beyond peradventure that honest elections had no existence, in fact, in the city of New York, and that, upon the contrary, a huge conspiracy against the purity of the elective franchise was connived at and participated in by the municipal police, whereby the rights of the individual were trampled ruthlessly under foot, and crime against the ballot held high carnival.

It is a significant fact that police captains, whose precincts were especially considered in this connection, were appointed by the president of the Board of Police; and one of the most conspicuous leaders of Tammany Hall, at the instance of the organization, as an organization, when informed that watchers had been sent to the polls,

at the instance of local reform associations, to aid in securing an honest ballot and count, called the officers of his command together and instructed them that if "those silk stockings interfere, stand them on their heads."

Partisan bias did not stop with the captains. In 1892 the president of the Police Board, in defiance of the Superintendent of Police, gave directions to the assembled captains, which, if carried into effect, would have caused riot and bloodshed at the polls, and would have precipitated encounters between the police and the U. S. marshals. The department was permeated by the influence of Tammany Hall. District leaders influenced not only the appointment but the assignment of officers; for contributions were levied upon the members for the benefit of district organizations. A situation had been reached under four years of a partisan police board, where the officer had been brought to understand that the only hope for promotion was in joining and contributing to Tammany Hall associations, and seeking through these channels the sure road to promotion.

CROKER COULD AND DID STOP IT

We find Tammany Hall influences predominating to such a degree and so demoralizing to the force, that Commissioner Martin, president of the Police Department, finally asked the intervention of Richard Croker, a private citizen, unconnected

with the Police Department, but leader of Tammany Hall, in order to secure through the influence of that organization a cessation of this abuse. The same private citizen, whose authority was so potent as to accomplish all this, was able by a word of command at once to shut up all the poolrooms then in full operation, and which, according to the testimony up to that time, neither the whole force of police, of detectives, superintendent, or of the commissioners themselves could effectively close. Taken as a whole, the record discloses the fact that the Police Department, from the highest down to the lowest, was thoroughly impregnated with the political influence of Tammany Hall, and that the suppression and repression of crime depended, not so much upon the ability of the police to enforce law, but rather upon the will of that organization or faction to have the law enforced.

It becomes the paramount duty of the Legislature to remove, as far as practicable, the possibility of political influences securing a controlling power over the police force.

The testimony indicated the amazing condition that in most of the precincts, houses of ill-repute, gambling houses, policy shops, poolrooms and unlawful resorts of a similar character were being openly conducted under the eyes of the police, without attempt at concealment, so publicly, in fact, that the names of the persons, and the street numbers of the houses, were not only known

throughout the community, but were published in the daily prints, and yet they remained open and ostentatiously flourished.

LIVES JEOPARDIZED, BUSINESS RUINED

Strong men hesitated when required to give evidence of their oppression, and whispered their stories; tricks, subterfuges and schemes of all kinds were resorted to, to withhold the fact that they had knowledge of acts of corruption or oppression by the police. The uniform belief was that if they spoke against the police, or if the police discovered that they had been instrumental in aiding the committee, or had information, their business would be ruined, and their lives jeopardized.

The police practiced blackmail with substantial impunity, and with a reckless disregard of decency. Proprietors of disorderly houses and gambling dens paid for their illegal privileges. Outcasts of society paid patrolmen for permission to solicit on the public highways. Green-goods swindlers and victims added their story of police blackmail and protection. Violators of the excise law paid a regular stipend for protection or immunity from interference. Appointments to the police force were purchased. Captain Creedon confessed the payment of $15,000 to secure a promotion. Captain Schmittberger testified that he had been

a go-between in securing the appointment of a captain, for a consideration of $12,000.

CORRECTIVE LEGISLATION ENACTED

The disclosures were of such an appalling character that popular demand was made for immediate remedial legislation. The Lexow Committee succeeded in getting through the Legislature bills for the concentration of power to control and discipline the uniformed force, including assignment and transfer, whereby the executive functions of the department were lodged in the Chief of Police; creating a bi-partisan Board of Police Commissioners, with exclusive authority over the administrative and judicial functions of the department; causing all promotions to be made in conformity with the rules of civil service, for merit and superior capacity; authorizing the Board of Police to retire officers after twenty years of service, and making retirement mandatory after thirty years of service; conferring upon the same board power of dismissal of officers.

These recommendations were framed into laws, and for a time they worked quite well, under the strong moral administration. But when Tammany returned to power in 1898, the abuse of the laws became quite as flagrant as ever, and the Police Department quite as demoralized and corrupt. Public charges were made that under the Van Wyck administration, funds had been raised

by levy upon members of the police force, saloon and other resort keepers, to corruptly influence legislation; that there had been a lax enforcement of laws throughout the Greater New York, of which Van Wyck was the first Mayor; that corrupt and tyrannical methods had been resorted to in the enforcement of the same, and that the public funds were being wasted in extravagant increases of official salaries and in other ways.

MAZET COMMITTEE INQUIRY

Again there was a cry for a thorough Legislative probing. March 29, 1899, there was adopted by the Assembly a resolution creating the special Mazet Committee. It consisted of Robert Mazet, chairman; Edward H. Fallows, James B. McEwan, Thomas S. Costello, Harris Wilson, Benjamin Hoffman, and Anthony J. Boland.

This committee went to work. And it proved that many of the accusations against the Van Wyck administration were warranted. To quote from the report submitted by Chairman Mazet and his associates:

THE TAMMANY DICTATOR

The one clear and distinct fact brought out by this investigation is that we have in this great city the most perfect instance of centralized party government yet known. We have had explained

by the highest authority, the dictator himself (Richard Croker), the system and theory of government, and by the highest officials the practice thereof. We see that government no longer responsible to the people, but to that dictator. We see the central power, not the man who sits in the Mayor's chair, but the man who stands behind it.

We see the same arbitrary power dictating appointments, directing officials, controlling boards, lecturing members of the Legislature and the Municipal Assembly. We see incompetence and arrogance in high place. We see an enormous and ever-increasing crowd of officeholders, with ever-increasing salaries. We see the powers of government prostituted to protect criminals, to demoralize the police, to debauch the public conscience, and to turn governmental functions into channels for private gain.

The proof is conclusive, not that the public treasury has been directly robbed, but that great opportunities have been given by manipulation of public offices to enable favored individuals to work for their own personal benefit.

"CROKER WORKED FOR HIS POCKET"

The enormous increase in the budget of the City of New York, the inefficiency and wastefulness in the public service, the demoralization of many of the departments, are due absolutely to the abdication of power by the officers of the peo-

ple to an organization, the ruler of which, an autocrat, has testified that he was "working for his pocket all the time."

The real ruler of the city is a private individual, holding no office, amenable to no law, bound by no oath, and yet exercising almost absolute control over most of the departments of the city government when he chooses to exercise it. For this latter evil—for it is an evil fraught with many evil consequences to the good government of the city—there is no Legislative remedy. If a Mayor so chooses to abdicate his powers, the responsibility is none the less his, but the only way to change the condition, if the majority of the people are satisfied with such a system and scheme of government, is at the polls.

The conduct of the present Police Department of the City of New York is unqualifiedly bad. Not only are the laws against poolrooms, gaming houses, excise violations, dance halls and wicked resorts of all kinds not enforced, or enforced in such a way as to be ridiculously ineffective, but the general discipline is lax, grave offenses of personal dereliction in the way of drunkenness, absence from post, inattention to duty, etc., go unpunished, or are visited with such small fines as almost to be an encouragement and not a determent for wrong-doing. Robberies from the person, robberies from houses and stores, bunco games, deceits, frauds, thefts, have increased in an alarming degree, and the detection of these

crimes, and the recovery of the property, has steadily decreased during the last two years.

The power of retiring a chief without cause (John McCullagh, Republican) has been exercised by this administration. To do this the Mayor removed two Police Commissioners, Thomas L. Hamilton and William S. Phillips, Republicans, and appointed one in their place. The three Commissioners promptly retired the then chief, and the Mayor having approved their action, the present chief was appointed (William S. Devery, Democrat). The responsibility is as much fixed now as it ever can be by law, and we have no police legislation to recommend. When at the direct instance of the gambling and pool-selling fraternity, officers have been "pounded," captains transferred, and a chief retired, it is hopeless to expect any other administration of such laws than that which the overwhelming evidence proves to exist.

The Mazet Committee recommended the cutting of the Mayor's term from four to two years, a recommendation which was approved by the Legislature, and a rule which to-day prevails. It showed that scandals in the Tax Buildings and other departments were not due to any fault in the laws, but lay solely with the officers of the law.

The Mazet Committee concluded its report by observing that the testimony demonstrated bad

administration, for which there was no legislative remedy, and defects in the charter which needed revision by a competent commission.

CHARTER REVISION

In conformity with the Mazet Committee recommendations, Governor Roosevelt named a Charter Revision Commission. It comprised George L. Rives, Franklin Bartlett, George W. Davidson, Charles C. Beaman, John D. Crimmins, George Cromwell, William C. Dewitt, Frank J. Goodnow, Isaac M. Kapper, Edgar J. Levey, James McKeen, Alex. T. Mason, Charles A. Schieren, Henry W. Taft and James L. Wells. It devoted a deal of time to investigating alleged weak points in the charter of 1897, prepared by the commission of which Benjamin F. Tracy was chairman. So far as I could ascertain, the 1900 commission made comparatively few important changes, except that the Board of Public Improvements was abolished, its functions conferred upon the Borough Presidents and the Board of Estimate and Apportionment. This transferred to the Borough Presidents the powers of the Departments of Highways, Sewers and Buildings.

The Borough Presidents became members of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment and were given a voice and vote in all matters affecting the city as a whole. The Legislature promptly, under my direction, approved all the Charter

Revision Commission recommendations, and Governor Odell put his signature to them in 1901. That charter has stood until the present day, though on two occasions Governor Hughes has sought to tinker with it.

I heartily agree with the findings of the Mazet Committee that non-enforcement of the laws—yes, deliberate violation of them—by local officials produces the greater share of abuses from which municipalities suffer. There are enough good laws. Let them be executed by those sworn to execute them, and the chief cause for complaint will be dissipated.

CHAPTER XIV

1892-1893

Republicans in rebellion against Harrison—Reasons for my opposition to his renomination—Why Blaine should have been named—Party disaster prophecy fulfilled—Harrison testifies to my loyalty—Cleveland's victory.

President Harrison's querulousness with the New York, Pennsylvania and other State organizations provoked a movement against his renomination that became formidable in 1892. Early in that year a secret conference of anti-Harrison forces was held in New York City. Matthew S. Quay, James S. Clarkson, then acting chairman of the Republican National Committee; myself and other opponents of the President from many States, resolved that the one man who could defeat Harrison was Blaine. A strong organization was formed. It made an onslaught on the President at Minneapolis. The late John C. New, Consul-General to London, hurried home, marshaled the administration forces, and finally forced Harrison's renomination.

Harrison's selection for a second term caused a chattering of the teeth among the warm-blooded

Republicans of the East. When there was added to it the choice of Whitelaw Reid, a persistent assailant of the New York organization, for Harrison's running mate, many of the New York delegates, including myself, wrapped ourselves in overcoats and ear-muffs, hurried from the convention hall, and took the first train for New York. I had repeatedly uttered warnings that Harrison's renomination spelled disaster. My prediction was verified. Grover Cleveland, who had been defeated by Harrison in 1888, beat him without trouble four years later, by an overwhelming majority, not only in the electoral college, but in the popular vote.

For the edification of those who formed the habit of stigmatizing me as a traitor to Harrison as the regular nominee of the party, let me submit a personal letter from him, written at the very time I was being accused of plotting his defeat at the polls:

HARRISON VINDICATES ME

Executive Mansion, Washington.
Loon Lake, N. Y., August 17, 1892.

My Dear Sir:

I received yesterday evening a letter from Mr. Hiscock, with the contents of which I understood you were acquainted. After considering the subject, I have concluded to dispense with all intermediaries and to address you directly, with abso-

lute frankness. And first, I have not sent for any one to consult with me about political matters—except the chairman of the State Committee of Indiana, whom I desired to see before leaving Washington. I did consider the subject of having Chairmen Brookfield and Hackett meet me on the train on the way here, and asked Senator Hiscock what he thought of it—without, however, intending that he should take any step in the matter. Chairman Carter, with whom I also consulted, advised that I should, instead, stop over in New York and thus give an opportunity to other friends as well to call upon me. This course I should have taken, if the news from Mrs. Harrison and the delay in the adjournment of Congress had not made it necessary for me to come on here without delay. I passed through Jersey City at such an hour that the project I had discussed of meeting the gentlemen named, and Mr. Reid, on my train, had also to be abandoned.

I have asked no one to come here, and had not contemplated doing so for several reasons. Mrs. Harrison is so much of an invalid as to require of my time to assist her in the short walks and drives she takes daily, and much more in efforts to cheer her up and lift her out of her nervous depression. Our cottage is a little box of six small rooms, and the domestic disposition necessarily such that I cannot bring any one to the cottage. Further, I had set apart this week and next to the work

of preparing my letter of acceptance, which ought to be out, and at the best can only get a few hours each day for that work. My plan was, when this work was done, and Mrs. Harrison better, which I anxiously hope for, to go somewhere—either to New York City, to Mr. Reid's country place, to Mr. Miller's home at Herkimer, or to Mr. Burleigh's place on Lake George, each of which has been suggested—and to meet there a few friends, to whom I might submit the letter for suggestion and criticism, and with whom I might consult as to the campaign. This plan I hope to carry out and will be glad if you will make one of that company.

One of the things I ought to say, in view of the matters stated in Senator Hiscock's letter: First, no promise, or anything that could be construed into a promise, of place or reward has been made by me, or with my knowledge, to any one before or since the Minneapolis convention, and none such will be made now or hereafter. Every appointment will be left open until the time for making it arrives, and then determined in the light of that time and upon such proper considerations as may then present themselves. This I regard as the only fair course to others and the only safe and proper course for me. In this view I am advised you fully concur.

MY PARTY LABORS UNSELFISH

Second, I learn not only from Senator Hiscock's letter, but from other sources, *that you have taken the impression that I depreciated your standing as a gentleman and as a Republican leader. I have wanted an opportunity, and take this, to say in the utmost sincerity that in this you are entirely mistaken. Men of high standing in New York, and among them some who have sharply and constantly antagonized you in politics, and might be thought to be hostile, have repeatedly, in conversation with me, cheerfully borne testimony to your personal integrity and fidelity, and to your unselfish party labors. I have never intentionally done or omitted anything out of any personal disrespect, and any such impression on your part is a mistake, the origin of which I will not attempt to trace, but will venture to suggest that the fault may not have been wholly on one side. There is no reason on my part why our relations may not be absolutely friendly.*

Third, You and other Republicans of New York vigorously opposed my renomination. This you had a right to do, and it should involve no party penalties or disabilities—and no personal ill-will. I have never sought (and it is rather uncommon in politics, I think) to require loyalty of those who received appointments from me. Up to the very meeting of the Minneapolis convention, I was making nominations upon the recommenda-

tions of Senators and members of Congress whose opposition to me was not only pronounced, but bitter, and those who opposed me at Chicago have, as you know, had generous recognition. Post-convention loyalty to the ticket and to the party should be rather the test when honors are to be distributed. *You will not expect me to apologize for getting the nomination, nor I to you for having tried to prevent it.*

I have thought I ought to say these things in order to remove impressions that were injurious to me, without reference at all to the effect. *I appreciate fully the important contribution you can make to the campaign. Your devotion to Republican principles made these stories of secret opposition incredible. If any impression that I cherished a disrespect for or suspicion of you was in the way of your greater activity, I hope that has now been removed.* When we meet, these matters can have fuller discussion, if necessary.

It has seemed to me that it would be very desirable, as well on your account as on mine, that our meeting should be anticipated rather than followed by any steps you may decide to take. I have not hesitated, therefore, to say these things frankly and directly to you, rather than through others, believing that the spirit at least in which I have written would be appreciated.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Benj. Harrison.

Hon. T. C. Platt, New York City.

HARRISON, THE "POUTER PIGEON"

Some have been so unkind as to depict Harrison as a bantam rooster, strutting about and challenging all comers, big and little, to fight. He impressed me more as a pouter pigeon, though I have witnessed more than one exhibition of his pugnacity. Outside the White House and at a dinner he could be a courtly gentleman. Inside the Executive Mansion, in his reception of those who solicited official appointments, for themselves or their friends, he was as glacial as a Siberian stripped of his furs. During and after an interview, if one could secure it, one felt even in torrid weather like pulling on his winter flannels, goloshes, overcoat, mitts and earlaps. With few exceptions, those who did most to place Harrison first in the United States Senate and then in the Presidency, found him a marble statue when they asked for recognition of their services.

He appeared to assume that all who had been with him would stick, no matter how he ignored or mistreated them.

He lost their sympathy by forgetting his obligations to them and conferring favors on those to whom he owed nothing. That partially explains why Harrison was opposed so strenuously for a renomination, and why so many hundreds of thousands of ardent Republicans visited punishment upon him by voting straight against him in 1892.

CHAPTER XV

1893-1894

Rival party reorganization movements—Bliss-Milholland factional quarrels in New York City—Expensive result of Whitelaw Reid's attempt to intimidate me—Genuine reorganization and Republicans sweep the State by one hundred thousand—My friends nominate and elect Strong Mayor—He deliberately repudiates pre-nomination and election pledges—Documentary proof of this—Brookfield ousted.

THE Republican party was in 1893 at a sad disadvantage in the State and City of New York. The State government was controlled by the Democratic party. Tammany Hall was supreme in the city. David B. Hill, the accepted Democratic "boss," was in the U. S. Senate. Edward Murphy, Jr., his deputy, was also there. The overwhelming pluralities by which Flower whipped Fassett in 1891, and by which Cleveland defeated Harrison in 1892, caused demands again from the Half-breeds that I be knocked in the head. Despite the fact that I had forewarned New York Republicans that the renomination of Har-

rison meant utter rout, in their desperate determination to get rid of me they ignored evidence of chicanery that resulted in the stealing of the Legislatures of 1892 and 1893, which sent Hill and Murphy to the U. S. Senate. They closed their eyes to frauds, not only in New York City, but in Dutchess, Columbia and Steuben counties in the interior. They seemed blind to the theft of certificates of election, colonization, repeating and ballot stuffing, in which Hill, Assistant Attorney-General Isaac N. Maynard, and other Democratic leaders, were so implicated that independent social and political associations held indignation meetings and cried out for redress. These assemblies also denounced the Democratic gerrymander, that made it well-nigh impossible, except a revolution should happen, for the Republicans to obtain a majority in the lawmaking body.

In the hope of at last starting me on the political toboggan, my adversaries howled for a reorganization of the party, particularly in the county of New York. Colonel George Bliss and others who did not like me formed a Committee of Thirty. They announced their intention of "cleaning the Augean stables, and throwing Platt and his crew out." I fully realized the imperative necessity of a reorganization. But I was not allured by the spectacle of political bushwhackers assuming to take charge of the enterprise. I frankly declared at that time that as the old machine could not be depended upon to do good and

efficient work, and get out the Republican vote, a new organization was required. The county committee recognized this by gracefully going off to the funeral prepared for it by the thirty undertakers (thirty district leaders). Conditions became the more embarrassing, when, early in 1893, two bitterly hostile factions sprang up to undertake the task of reorganization. One, as I have said, was the Committee of Thirty, headed by Colonel Bliss. The other was led by John F. Milholland, with Whitelaw Reid as its real underwriter.

BLISS VS. REID—MILHOLLAND

Bliss claimed the authority of the old County Committee. Milholland asserted that public sentiment was behind him and his men. I questioned whether an authority derived from a body that had practically confessed its own unfitness to live was of any particular value. The County Committee had said: "We are somewhat bad, and totally inefficient, and we empower Colonel Bliss and his friends to get up something better in our stead." Now it did not seem to me that Republicans were compelled to respect Colonel Bliss's credentials. If we were to get rid of the old machine because it was partially bad, and entirely inefficient, we were certainly justified in looking with some suspicion upon the persons to whom it issued its commission.

I concluded to look at the Bliss and Milholland movements merely on their respective merits. I found that among those who supported Bliss were a number of aged Republicans, of character and wealth, who spent a great deal of their time in criticizing us whose interest in the party was such that we gave our days and nights, in season and out of season, to build up the party and make it effective on election day. They undertook to abolish leadership. They might as well have tried to abolish daylight. I urged that it was not so much a new scheme of organization that the party needed, as new blood, earnest, resolute, active, ambitious young men. I therefore did not think Colonel Bliss's plan calculated to infuse new life in the party. Nor did I regard the would-be leaders about him, among them Cornelius N. Bliss and General Samuel Thomas, likely to attract gallant, ambitious young men. I maintained that we would be unable to obtain the secret of how to get votes from gentlemen who gave so little time in active work for the party, and suggested that as the Milholland men were young, active, enthusiastic workers in cosmopolitan districts we had been unable to reach, they, instead of being opposed by Colonel Bliss and his friends, ought to receive their active support and financial encouragement.

THAT "HARMONY" DINNER

Though both Bliss and Milholland repeatedly claimed me as sponsor for their respective organi-

zations, I never got behind either. Possibly I would have been tempted to prefer the Milholland movement, but for an incident that happened in the winter of 1893. State Chairman Hackett and myself were invited to what we presumed was to be a "harmony" dinner, at the home of Whitelaw Reid. We soon discovered that everybody there was expected to sign a cast-iron pledge to push the Milholland organization. When I protested that my hands were off, and that the State organization would recognize neither the Bliss nor the Milholland faction, until one or the other had demonstrated that it represented a majority of the Republican voters of New York County, Mr. Reid became unwarrantably excited. He brandished his fist and exclaimed: "If you refuse to indorse the Milholland movement I shall be compelled to attack you in the columns of the New York *Tribune.*"

"Attack me if you will in a thousand newspapers. Never yet have I been bulldozed into espousing any proposition, political or otherwise. Come on, Hackett. Let's get out of here. It is no place for us," was my answer.

Hackett and I called for our coats and hats, and bidding Reid a frigid farewell, departed.

Reid put his threats into execution. The *Tribune* opened fire on me the next day. It vilified me as few newspapers ever vilified me. But the abuse made me the more determined that I would not yield. Neither faction was recognized

by the State organization. Ultimately my friends obtained complete mastery of the New York County machine, and brought it up to a state of splendid efficiency. I may add that the dinner incident, accentuated by the attacks of Mr. Reid's newspaper, delayed the appointment of that gentleman as Ambassador to the Court of St. James by a number of years. It had been for a long time his most cherished ambition to pay court to King Edward. It was not until I finally acquiesced in a personal request made by President Roosevelt, that Reid achieved the post he sought.

WHY REID DID NOT GO TO ENGLAND

(Note by the Editor.)

Senator Platt, during the preparation of these memoirs, searched in vain for a letter he wrote to President McKinley in August, 1898, warning him that should he appoint Whitelaw Reid as Ambassador to Great Britain, he would be compelled to "part company" with him. An examination of the Senator's archives since his death discovered the only copy of the communication extant, so far as known. Inasmuch as the Senator's avowed intention was to reproduce it in the story of his life, the compiler here presents the protest, which resulted in President McKinley's declination to appoint Reid, and which kept him officially out of the Court of St. James for a number of years:

New York, August 14, 1898.

To the President,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. President:

I have spent a good deal of time since our interview on Friday morning thinking over the suggestion you made of Mr. Reid's appointment to be Ambassador at the Court of St. James. I know, of course, that, anticipating my opposition, you would not have proposed this nomination had you not believed it to be politically expedient. I think I appreciate your point of view. It is one which I have assumed many times in my political experience, and occasionally with good results. But the wisdom of attempting to conciliate an enemy by giving him an office, depends entirely on his character as a man. If the office is a token of restored friendship, and not simply a consideration, it can be wisely given. But when the man is both selfish and unscrupulous; when he has a uniform record of broken promises, promises only half performed, promises kept only while the present favor lasted, it is my experience that his attempted conciliation works vastly more harm than good. In the case of Reid, I could give you a list of understandings ignored, agreements violated and promises broken which would completely establish the fact that any assurance of his is to be understood and interpreted only in the light of what he considers to be his own immediate interest.

I inclosed to you yesterday, a paragraph from the *Evening Post* which perfectly illustrated Reid's character. He is a fawning and unctuous friend while he is a friend. He is a friend just so long as his friendship is being paid for—"appreciated," as he would no doubt call it. Then straightway and inevitably, he begins his trick of cutting from under. Party interests, the public welfare—no such consideration in the slightest degree affects his course. I have known Reid for a quarter of a century, and have never known the time when he could be induced to look beyond the point at which his personal advantage was to be served.

It is almost literally true, Mr. President, to say that the Republican failures in New York during the last twenty years are to be laid at his door. The *Tribune* has always had a large circulation in New York, and until within the last five years it has exercised very great influence upon public opinion. The utterly selfish and unpatriotic motives that have controlled its policy have at last been discovered to Republicans generally, and its influence now is at the very lowest ebb to which it has ever fallen. If you take the action contemplated your act will operate to revive its destructive power. It is and has been the head and front of opposition to the Republican organization. It has been the constant cause of Republican disintegration. No organized movement against the party could at any time have been

successful except for its dishonest tirades against party leaders throughout the State. It has furnished to the Democratic party, every argument that has been efficiently used to the injury of Republican candidates and Republican policies. We have no substantial party majority in the State of New York. When we win, our victory is primarily the result of close, election-district organization. Everything that tends to impair the strength of the organization, to create prejudice against its leaders in the various counties, to create distrust of their motives, to misconstrue their acts, is bound in its tendency to take away from us that very small percentage of Republican votes on which success depends. The prejudicial and disintegrating course of the *Tribune;* its half-hearted support, when it supports at all; its false and ugly criticisms during every session of the Legislature; its vicious abuse of individuals prominent in the party; its denunciation of measures judged to be necessary for the party welfare; its magnifying of party mistakes; its diabolical blackguardism of the organization as an organization, have finally rendered the name of Whitelaw Reid so odious to Republicans generally, that his advancement now would be regarded as a personal insult to every loyal member of the party. His course in respect to Governor Black is an interesting and thoroughly significant illustration of his character and conduct. In the first year of the Governor's administration, while he was

thought to be entirely dominated by organization influences, Reid abused him like a pickpocket. He couldn't stand up or he couldn't sit down without calling forth the wrath of the *Tribune*. Then, when he did some things which the organization opposed, and refrained from doing some other things which the organization desired, the *Tribune* hugged him to its hysterical bosom; and now, when it fears that the Governor is not "out with" the organization, and fears that his renomination may be contemplated, it becomes distant and critical of its late idol and sniffs its doubtful nose. This is the characteristic Reid policy when he is waiting to be "conciliated." It is intended for no other purpose than to inform us that the course of the *Tribune* in the pending campaign depends on whether or not Reid is to get an office.

Reid and his paper have at last brought themselves down to that deserved low limit of public regard where they can do the least harm. It would be a party crime, Mr. President, for you to lift them up. Perhaps you might hold their malice in check as long as you kept Reid in office; but that would amount to nothing even in its immediate effects. Everybody who is interested in politics would understand the meaning of it. It would excite the sneers of Democrats, and to Republicans it would be a bitter humiliation. Then, after you had rehabilitated him, after you had enabled him to claim for his paper the authority

of a regular party organ, all that new strength would be turned against the party, as has been the case so many times before. Treachery and ingratitude would be rewarded only that they might assert themselves again with a greater power for harm.

I did not speak lightly, Mr. President, when I told you that I should be compelled to oppose this nomination in the Senate. I said that with extreme reluctance, for I came to Washington with the intention to support you earnestly and steadfastly, even when that course involved the sacrifice of my own judgment and interest. And you have proposed, I think, about the only thing that could cause me to part company. Since my visit to Washington on Friday I have talked this matter over with a number of our strongest men. I assumed an impartial attitude, and put it to them from your point of view, and if I had received substantial encouragement I was prepared to waive my own objections. But in every case, the outcry against Reid was spontaneous and intense. Every one says the same thing—that you could deal no blow to your party in New York more hurtful than by making this appointment. I speak conservatively in saying that the universal feeling among Republicans of influence is, that Reid and the *Tribune* are by their own acts now thoroughly discredited; that their capacity for harm is now comparatively small; that this appointment would confer upon them a new lease of influence

which, confirmed by a comparatively respectable course during a period of months, would be promptly turned against the party just as soon as he required to be "conciliated" again.

You have made many nominations from New York, Mr. President, which were disagreeable to the organization, and, in my opinion, unfortunate in their party consequences. But I have stood by you and have had a certain pleasure in subordinating my judgment to yours, and in feeling that I was affording gratification to you by a considerate and helpful course. I had not expected that you would think it necessary to impose upon the New York organization, which has your interests at heart, no less than those of the party, which, indeed, does not discriminate between them, this particular and extreme injury. I am sure you would not do it if you could realize the feeling it will arouse, and I still hope that your confidence in my advice will cause you to abandon a plan which every instinct of party loyalty and every desire for the party welfare compel me to oppose.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) T. C. Platt.

GENUINE REORGANIZATION BEGUN

While the Committee of Thirty and the Reid-Milholland factions were clutching at each other's throats, a practical plan for eradicating one of the causes of party demoralization was being

evolved. It was to put a stop to crooked registration and voting, especially on the east side of New York County. The Democratic Legislative gerrymander had so cut up the old Third (now the Eighth) Assembly District, for instance, that instead of its continuing a Republican stronghold, it cast its vote just as Timothy D. Sullivan, the Tammany leader, dictated. In the Second Assembly District, where Patrick Divver was Tammany leader, prizes were offered and presented to the election district captain who procured the greatest number of votes. In some election districts, only one or two Republican votes were counted. Tammany dominated the election boards by three to one, and Republican inspectors were helpless. Whole Assembly districts were declared by the Tammany boards to have gone Democratic by from eight to ten thousand, a meager few hundred votes being accorded to Republicans. Conservative estimates placed the total fraudulent vote in New York County alone in the campaigns of 1891 and 1892, at from thirty to fifty thousand.

In the summer of 1893, Charles H. Murray, then Republican leader of the Third Assembly District, but now Judge of the State Board of Claims, called upon Chairman Hackett, of the Republican State Committee, and begged the privilege of taking measures to stop the frauds. He asked the coöperation of the State organization. Hackett, who had tried every expedient he could think

of, wearily replied: "What is the use, Charlie? Wait until we regain the Legislature. Then we shall be able to enact laws to cure the evils."

CRUSADE AGAINST ELECTION CROOKS

Murray would not quit. He came to me. I told him to go ahead, and that I would stand by him. I also gave Murray advice as to what methods he should pursue. He proved relentlessly vigilant in investigating crooked work in registration and at the polls. He laid the evidence before James Gordon Bennett, of the New York *Herald,* and James Phillips, Jr., of the New York *Press.* They, in the interest of an honest ballot and fair count, placed scores of reporters at work. The result was that October 22, the *Herald* and *Press* exposed with several pages, copiously illustrated, the gigantic system of debauchery, which had for years been resorted to by Tammany Hall to carry elections. These attacks were continued daily until the close of the campaign. And they helped much toward reducing the volume of the crooked votes cast and counted. The articles were extensively copied by Republican newspapers in the rural districts. They aroused the Republicans there to a feeling of apprehension that their votes were to be overcome, and the next election stolen as others had been. So they went to work to make the up-State returns the largest possible.

THE STATE REDEEMED

Meantime, David B. Hill committed the blunder of nominating for Justice of the Court of Appeals Isaac N. Maynard, who had been active in procuring the theft of the Legislatures of 1892 and 1893. We nominated Edward T. Bartlett, of New York City. We made Maynard and his offenses the campaign issues. We elected Bartlett by over one hundred thousand plurality. Our candidates for Secretary of State, Comptroller, State Treasurer, Attorney-General and State Engineer and Surveyor were also winners, and we regained control of the Legislature.

"Divine Providence did it," I said at the time, and I repeat it now.

The result of the crusade against Tammany Hall corruption, inaugurated by Mr. Murray, and the police alliance with it, led to the appointment of the famous Lexow Legislative investigating committee. The first volume of the Lexow Committee's report is almost exclusively taken up with the evidence that Mr. Murray adduced as to the criminality of Tammany Hall, election methods and the police participation and connivance therein. This I have discussed elsewhere in more detail.

The Lexow exposures had caused Thomas F. Gilroy, the Tammany Mayor, to become much alarmed. He finally made up his mind to try and offset popular resentment by making the police

board bi-partisan. It then consisted of three Tammany Hall men and one Republican, General Michael Kerwin. Early in 1894 the term of Commissioner Charles F. McLean, now a Justice of the Supreme Court, expired. Mayor Gilroy asked me to recommend a Republican to succeed him. I sent him the names of Cornelius Van Cott and Charles H. Murray. Gilroy appointed Murray. Thus, for the first time, the New York Police Board was made bi-partisan, or "non-partisan," as the reformers of the day chose to phrase it.

HOW STRONG WAS NOMINATED

The Lexow Legislative Committee's disclosures of Tammany administration corruption brought about a popular revolt among the decent citizens of the metropolis in 1894 that had not been equaled since the days of Tweed. So appalling were the revelations of debauchery in high places that men, regardless of party, united in a demand for a complete overturn of the city government. Early in the year, committees representing independent organizations banded together for good and pure administration of municipal affairs, called upon me, and asked if I would lend my influence toward the formation of a fusion movement, which would support a non-partisan ticket pledged to give the people an honest conduct of the city administration. I assured them all that I would be most happy to coöperate, and that I be-

lieved I could bespeak the support of the Republican organization. The independent organizations continued to multiply, the more the popular resentment grew against Tammany's misdoings, divulged by the Lexow Committee.

There were the State Democracy, which had been formed by the former Mayor William R. Grace; the O'Brien Democracy, with former Judge Alfred Steckler and his brother Charles at its head; the Independent Democracy, whose spokesman, I believe, was John P. Townsend; and numerous Good Government Clubs, all apparently inspired with the same object, and that was to rid the city of those who were plundering it.

September 6th there was an immense mass meeting at Cooper Union, at which the anti-Tammany men concluded to organize a Committee of Seventy, supposedly comprised of representatives of all elements opposed to the régime then in control of the municipal government. A Committee of Seventy had been so successful in rooting out Tweed frauds in the early seventies, that it was thought wise to create another. To the late Joseph Larocque, an eminent lawyer, who had served on the original Committee of Seventy, was committed the task of making up the new one. Larocque was a Democrat. But the Republican organization offered no protest against his selection. Mr. Larocque consulted neither myself nor any officer of the Republican organization as to who should represent it on the Committee of

Seventy. He went ahead and named whom he pleased. And we acquiesced. We were quite as anxious as any of the independents to throw Tammany out of power, so we did not complain about being practically ignored in the choice of those who were to name the ticket.

Mr. Larocque selected a number of high-class public-spirited citizens. Among them were: J. Pierpont Morgan, C. C. Beaman, George L. Rives, R. M. Gallaway, Cornelius Vanderbilt, General Anson G. McCook, Peter B. Olney, John Claflin, General Horace Porter, Lewis L. Delafield, W. Harris Roome, Percival Knauth, Charles Taber, William J. Scheffelin, George Haven Putnam, Albert Stickney, George McCulloch Miller, William E. Dodge, William B. Hornblower, J. Augustus Johnson, Fulton McMahon, Henry A. Oakley, Everett P. Wheeler, W. R. Stewart, William Travers Jerome, Woodbury Landon, Hugh N. Camp, William L. Strong, Charles Hauselt, John Crosby Brown, Simon Sterne, General C. H. T. Collis, E. W. Bloomingdale, Albert H. Ely, John P. Faure, J. F. Frank, A. S. Frissel, T. A. Fulton, E. B. Grinnell, W. A. Hoe, Dr. A. Jacobi, Isaac H. Klein, Marshall C. Lefferts, Max L. Lissauer, Cornelius W. Luyster, D. C. Overbaugh, E. D. Page, James B. Reynolds, Henry Rice, Gustav H. Schwab, Charles Stewart Smith, Julius Sternberger, Henry C. Swords, Frederick Taylor, L. J. Callahan, Arthur Van Briesen, James J. Speyer and James A. Blanchard.

ONLY TWO OF THE SEVENTY OURS

But two out of the seventy could have been said to be representatives of the Republican organization, which polled in the neighborhood of one hundred thousand votes in those days—more by ten to one than any other body of men, except Tammany Hall. Blanchard, who afterward became Justice of the Supreme Court through my influence, and Swords, originally from Iowa, I think, but made acquainted with New York through having been sergeant-at-arms of the Republican National Committee, were about the only spokesmen we had on the committee. There were numerous conferences. The names of a large number of candidates for Mayor were canvassed. One of the first considered was that of John W. Goff, Democrat, who had proved a splendid inquisitor, while counsel for the Lexow Committee. Later C. C. Shayne and Colonel William L. Strong, both Republicans, were presented. The Democrats, who at first dominated the committee, insisted from the outset that a man of their party should be nominated, chiefly upon the ground that New York was a Democratic city. The Republicans argued that as the great proportion of votes necessary to elect must come from their party, a Republican must head the ticket. This contention finally prevailed, and Colonel Strong was chosen for Mayor by the Committee of Seventy. Just how this was accomplished and by whom, few

knew at the time, or if they did, would not reveal. I shall tell the unvarnished truth about it.

Charles H. Murray and the late Judge Jacob M. Patterson were the two men most responsible for the nomination of Colonel Strong. James Phillips, Jr., then editor and proprietor of the New York *Press,* was, however, the one who originally suggested the colonel's name to me. Early in October, 1894, Mr. Phillips called upon me at my office, No. 49 Broadway, and urged that the Republican organization ought to insist that Strong be the candidate for Mayor. He argued that, first of all, he was a stanch Republican. Then, he was a man who commanded confidence, as few did, of the business community. I was inclined to agree with him.

STRONG PROMISES EVERYTHING

On October 4th, I called up Police Commissioner Murray. He was then one of my most valued lieutenants in the New York County organization. I asked him to join Mr. Phillips, see Colonel Strong, and report the result of the interview to me. Mr. Phillips visited Mr. Murray. Mr. Phillips stated to Mr. Murray that Colonel Strong was a candidate for Mayor; that he had been to see me about the nomination, because Colonel Strong believed it politically unwise to call upon me personally; that I had referred him to Mr. Murray and requested that the two should call upon Colo-

nel Strong at the Central National Bank, of which he was then president. They found Colonel Strong awaiting them. The candidacy of the colonel was then discussed. A definite and positive agreement was reached as to the colonel's conduct and attitude toward the Republican organization in case he should be nominated and elected.

At the conclusion of the interview, Mr. Phillips and Mr. Murray came to my office and reported what had happened. It was suggested that Judge Jacob M. Patterson's advice be sought. He joined us. He was told what had passed between Phillips and Murray. That there might be a third person, as a witness, it was agreed that he and Phillips and Murray should go again to Colonel Strong and discuss his candidacy. They did so. Colonel Strong was absent. But the three saw him in the afternoon. The result of the interviews with Colonel Strong was reduced to a typewritten statement, signed by Messrs. Murray, Patterson and Phillips, which until now has never been printed. It was written by Mr. Murray and has reposed among his archives. Here is the document:

BARGAIN WITH STRONG

On Thursday, October 4, 1894, Mr. James Phillips, Jr., of the *Press,* called upon me at Police Headquarters and wanted me to go with him in his cab to attend an important conference. He

explained to me that Mr. Strong was a candidate for Mayor, and wanted to see me in order to explain his position and attitude and his intentions regarding the Republican party. I asked Mr. Phillips if I could talk freely to Mr. Strong as man to man. He replied that I could talk as freely to Mr. Strong as I could to him.

On reaching Mr. Strong's office, I found him waiting for us. After passing the hearty congratulations of the day, I remarked to Mr. Strong that when Mr. Einstein ran for Mayor in 1888, I had labored diligently with him to obtain his consent to accept the Republican nomination then. He replied that at that time he could not run, but that now he had been urged by so many of his friends, both Republican and Democrats, if the nomination was tendered to him, and there was a substantial unanimity by all the anti-Tammany associations for him to run, he had made up his mind to run; that he thought he could be elected; that this was an opportunity by which, if embraced, he thought, Tammany Hall could be overthrown; that if he was elected Mayor he would give the city an honest and business-like administration, and endeavor to so build up the credit of the party for an honest and business-like administration of the city affairs that, after the two years of his incumbency as Mayor, the Republican party would obtain such credit from his administration that his successor would be elected.

I replied that the supremacy of Tammany Hall

in this city was due to their immense patronage in the municipality; that I understood there were some nineteen thousand place-holders in the city of all grades. But, saying there were ten thousand active political places, a Republican Mayor, with the courage of his convictions, could so use this patronage in the interest of the Republican party, that he could build up the Republican organization to the present strength of Tammany Hall in the city; so that the Republican party in the future could cope successfully with a united Democratic party and make the city and State Republican indefinitely.

DETAILS OF THE COMPACT

Colonel Strong replied that he wanted to give an honest and business-like administration as Mayor, and that as he expected to be elected by the votes of many Democrats, he felt that he would be obliged to recognize them in some instances in the distribution of patronage. I replied: "Colonel Strong, I commend your attitude, and if I was elected Mayor of this city I should endeavor, as conscientiously as a man could, to give the city a thoroughly honest and business-like and Republican administration. I should make certain boards in the city non-partisan. For instance, I should divide the Police Board, the Excise Commission, and possibly the Dock Department, equally among Republicans and Democrats. For such boards, where

public criticism was mainly directed, I would make each party responsible for the administration of them, so that the Republican party could not be charged with partisan manipulation of them like Tammany Hall, and be put in the jeopardous position that Tammany Hall was now in; but that other than this I should give a Republican administration, in the office as Mayor, for the benefit of the party."

He replied that I had expressed his sentiments and views exactly; that he coincided fully in what I had said; and that he was so good a Republican that he should take "damned good care" that any Democrat he might appoint would come pretty near to being a Republican; that he should take care that any Democrats that might be appointed would be pretty good anti-Tammany Democrats.

STRONG SAYS HE WAS NEVER AGAINST ME

I said then to Mr. Strong that I wanted to talk to him frankly and confidentially about his attitude to the Republican party, and toward the unfortunate factions which were in the party. He said to me he never had been a factionist; that he regretted very much the conduct of —— in stirring up this factional strife, and that he had said more bitter things to ——'s face than he would ever say behind his back. I said to Mr. Strong that I regretted these factions, but as long as they were these factions, and that as he had

sought this interview with me as the representative of the majority faction in the Republican party, I wanted to understand his attitude toward me. He replied that if he was elected Mayor, he would endeavor to harmonize the party; that he was a friend of ours, and that he wanted we should be friends of his; that he had never been against Mr. Platt, and that if he was elected Mayor no man would be more welcome to his office than would be Mr. Platt.

I said: "Then, Mr. Strong, I understand this, because I want it distinctly understood between us, that if you are elected Mayor, you will advise and consult us in all things, and that you will not heed suggestions and advice from —— and his friends any more than you will heed suggestions and advice from me and my friends; that the suggestions and advice of Mr. —— and his friends will not take any preference or receive any greater consideration than advice and suggestions made by myself and friends, and that in all matters you will receive advice and suggestions and consult with us respecting your administration as Mayor, so long as we make no advice or suggestions contrary to your intention of giving an honest, business-like and a Republican administration as Mayor, and make none that a conscientious man could not carry out."

THE PLEDGE

He replied: "The suggestions made by you and your friends will receive as much or greater consideration than those made by anybody else. I shall be happy to consult with you at any and all times. I want to make a harmonious party, here in the city, and shall do nothing which in your judgment would not be in the interest of harmony, and for the best interests of the party."

I said: "Mr. Strong, there remains now but one other subject for us to agree upon. Suppose Mr. —— or anybody else should suggest to you for appointment a highly objectionable name, what would you do in this case?"

He replied: "I would endeavor to harmonize it, and if harmony could not be obtained, I should insist upon the name."

Then I said: "Colonel Strong, I understand that you will heed our protest against such a man, and would not make any appointment highly objectionable to us?"

He said: "I will heed your protest."

About this time, Mr. Phillips, who had overheard this conversation, withdrew, and Mr. Strong turned to me and said: "Now, Murray, you and I understand each other perfectly, and you need have no apprehensions but what I will do the right thing if I am elected Mayor."

I said: "Mr. Strong, I am glad to have these few words in confidence with you, because I

wanted the understanding fully and frankly as I have had it with you."

He said: "It is all right, Murray. We understand each other perfectly."

Mr. Phillips and I then withdrew, and drove to Senator Platt's office. I telephoned to Judge Patterson to come immediately down to Senator Platt's office. In about twenty minutes Judge Patterson arrived at Senator Platt's office, and I detailed to Senator Platt and Judge Patterson the interview, in substance as it is written now.

Then Judge Patterson, Mr. Phillips and myself left Platt's office and drove to Mr. Strong's office, and found Mr. Strong absent, attending, we were informed, a meeting of the New York Life Insurance Company. An appointment was made by Mr. Phillips for Judge Patterson and myself to meet Mr. Strong at his office at half-past two in the afternoon. Judge Patterson and myself, a few minutes after half-past two, called at Mr. Strong's office. We waited for him about fifteen minutes. Then Mr. Strong returned, and the following interview took place between Mr. Strong, Judge Patterson and myself.

PATTERSON'S TESTIMONY

What follows is the testimony of Judge Patterson:

When Mr. Strong came, Mr. Murray was by the desk in the southwest corner of his room. Mr.

Strong greeted Mr. Murray. Judge Patterson, who was standing a few feet away, stepped over and greeted Mr. Strong. Judge Patterson said: "Colonel Strong, Commissioner Murray has informed me of the interview of this morning." (Mr. Phillips was to be present at this time, but was unavoidably absent.)

"I came to see Colonel Strong," continued Judge Patterson, "in relation to the nomination for Mayor, understanding that you would like to receive the nomination for Mayor."

Colonel Strong said it had been suggested to him by the Committee of Seventy and many personal friends, that he would be the proper man for them to nominate, and that a number of them had strongly urged him to accept, but that he had not seen any one about it since Tuesday morning.

I then told him that influences were at work to have the Committee of Seventy propose the name of Hon. —— before the Republican convention. He then said: "Why wouldn't he, ——, make a good candidate?" I said he would, but that there were strong objections to Mr. —— being nominated. "And we prefer you, Colonel Strong, and if you will give us an opportunity, by presenting your name from the Committee of Seventy, we will choose you as our candidate. But if the Committee of Seventy presented one name—that is, the name of ——, that would be manifestly unfair and absolutely wrong."

Colonel Strong said he agreed entirely with me, that it was unfair and wrong for them to present but one name, and that he should submit several names from which we could select. Then I said: "Can't you do anything to stop that? Can't you get your name submitted with ——?" Colonel Strong said: "I'll be damned if I'll ask them to do anything for me personally, but I'll see that more than one name will be submitted. For them to submit but one name would be absolutely wrong."

He (Colonel Strong) looked up and said: "It is three o'clock now. The committee is now in session. I'll not go down personally, but I'll send word to Mr. John Claflin."

He then called in a lady stenographer and dictated a letter. While he was dictating the letter, he turned to me and said: "I am not going to mention my own name to Mr. Claflin."

Then Mr. Murray spoke up and said: "We understand your modesty in not personally urging your name, but you can trust your candidacy in the hands of Judge Patterson and myself. We will make you our candidate. You will be our candidate and we will put you through."

After he (Colonel Strong) had finished dictating the letter to Mr. Claflin, and while it was being typewritten, we engaged further in conversation with Colonel Strong, and Mr. Murray said that he had a highly satisfactory conversation with Colonel Strong in the morning.

I then remarked: "Colonel Strong, you are a gentleman, and an honorable man, and would accept no favors at the hands of any man without realizing the obligations you are under. We will trust you as a man of honor to treat us fairly and honorably after you are elected."

"I'LL NOT FORGET MY OBLIGATIONS"

He (Colonel Strong) said: "That is correct. You can trust me. I'll not forget my obligations."

We then started to leave. By that time the letter was brought back to the room; Colonel Strong said: "I'll be damned if I'll ask them for myself, but it will be altogether wrong for them to present one name."

And he immediately sent the letter to Mr. Claflin.

Thereupon Mr. Murray and myself withdrew, promising him (Colonel Strong) that if his name was presented to us by the Committee of Seventy, we would see that the Republican conference committee accepted it and recommended it to the county convention. He could be assured of our nomination. After thanking us, he withdrew.

(Signed) CHARLES H. MURRAY.
J. M. PATTERSON.

New York, October 10, 1894.

PHILLIPS'S ATTESTATION

I have this day read the inclosed memo carefully, and as far as paragraph 1, from pages 1 to 5, inclusive, I can affirm the accuracy of Mr. Murray's remembrance of the interview with Colonel Strong. I also recall clearly the assertion of Colonel Strong that he would endeavor to cooperate heartily with a Republican Governor, if one was elected, during his term of office. This was made in reply to an inquiry by Commissioner Murray.

J. P., Jr. (James Phillips, Jr.)

MY PERSONAL EXPERIENCE WITH STRONG

Concerning my own personal experience with Mayor Strong, I here produce some memoranda I jotted down soon after the Mayor elevated William Brookfield to the Commissionership of Public Works:—

On the 8th day of October last, I was visited at my office by Mr. J. Phillips, Jr., the manager and proprietor of the New York *Daily Press,* who had previously advised me of his very close and intimate relations with Hon. William L. Strong. He stated to me in that interview that he had just left Mr. Strong, and that he found that gentleman was exceedingly anxious for the Republican nomination for Mayor; that up to this time he had been indifferent, but now was

desirous of obtaining it and wanted my help. I stated that my help could only come through the leaders of the organization, and whatever was agreeable to them would be satisfactory to me; and suggested that Mr. Phillips arrange an interview with Judge Patterson and Commissioner Murray and Mr. Strong; that if Mr. Strong could satisfy them of his Republicanism, and that his policy, if elected, would be one for the protection and strengthening of the Republican party, I had no doubt those gentlemen could be induced to come into line for him.

Mr. Phillips approved of this, and took a cab and drove to the office of Commissioner Murray and got him to accompany him, and returned to Mr. Strong's office, and Mr. Murray had an interview in the presence of Mr. Phillips. Immediately afterward, at my request, Mr. Murray detailed the interview in full, and Mr. Phillips certified to the correctness of it, which statement is in my possession. During their absence from my office, I sent for Judge Patterson, and got him here, and he was present when Mr. Murray and Mr. Phillips returned. Upon hearing their report, it was arranged that Mr. Patterson should go at once to the Mayor and confirm these statements, which he did, and immediately thereafter detailed his conference in writing, with the Mayor, which confirmed in every respect the assurances given to Mr. Murray. In these conversations the

Mayor made the pledges reported by Messrs. Murray, Patterson and Phillips.

Upon the strength of these assurances and pledges, these gentlemen, Murray and Patterson, at once went to work to put the organization in line for his nomination, and did secure his nomination, which could not have been an accomplished fact under any other circumstances.

BROOKFIELD FOR BLISS

Mr. Brookfield at this time and up to the very evening of the meeting of the county convention was for Cornelius N. Bliss for Mayor; and when he was informed on the evening of the convention that it was the intention to nominate Mr. Strong, he expressed great surprise and said that this had a very bad look, and that these gentlemen would not nominate Mr. Strong unless they had some understanding with him.

During the whole of the canvass prior to the election, I had no communication whatever, direct or indirect, with the mayoralty candidate. I did object to his taking advisers and managers of his campaign entirely from one faction of the party. In order to fix that up, he arranged for an advisory committee, which committee was never called upon for either advice or work.

MY PACT WITH STRONG

After election, the first interview I had with the Mayor was an accidental one at the rooms of the Governor-elect (Levi P. Morton), at the Hotel Renaissance. In that interview, which lasted for half or three-quarters of an hour, in the presence of the Governor-elect, I took occasion, after congratulating him upon his election, to give him assurances of my cordial and hearty support in the administration of his office, and that I was not only willing but anxious to hold up his hands in every way; that I had no motive or desire except the strengthening of the Republican party in this city. And in return for these assurances, I was told by him that he was just as good a Republican as I was, and just as anxious for the welfare of the party. He said that in the distribution of patronage he would be obliged to recognize, in some way, all the political elements which supported him, but that he should do everything in his power consistently to sustain the organization of the party here and strengthen it. I told him that in all matters of legislation, whatever influence I could exert in the interest of his administration, would be exerted. And the Governor took occasion to state to him that he had known me for many years, and that where I was a friend, I was a strong friend, and he assured him that he would have no better friend than I in any matters connected with the management of the affairs of

his office. As to the details of the distribution of patronage, nothing was said at that interview. He said he would take great pleasure in consulting with me, when the time came, with reference to matters of patronage.

The next interview that I had with His Honor the Mayor was at the dinner of the Black Lake Fishing Club. For perhaps half an hour I sought to sit beside him, and did sit beside him, for the purpose of discussing the affairs of the party. A conversation of about the same general character occurred as to my desire to support him and sustain him. I there stated to him that I considered it of the greatest importance, with reference to the interests of the party, that two important places in his gift should be assigned to Republicans, and those were the Commissioner of Public Works and the Corporation Counsel; that it did not make much difference what became of the rest if those two offices were in the hands of Republicans; and that I considered it of paramount importance that the men who were put in those places should be men of undoubted Republicanism, and with excellent qualifications for the places. He stated that he proposed to appoint a Republican Commissioner of Public Works, but he was not so clear in his mind as to the Corporation Counsel, though he would have to give it to the Democrats. I mildly protested against this as being, in my judgment, bad politics, but he seemed to be quite determined, and I rather inferred from that con-

versation that he had somebody in mind. I said that I had only one request to make of him, and that was, when he came to the question of selecting a man for the Commissioner of Public Works, that I should be consulted and be allowed to have something to say about that matter. He promised me that I should, and said that there was no man in the party whose opinion he would be more likely to accept than mine, in that respect.

The next conversation that I had with him was after a visit from our mutual friend Phillips, in which he told me that the Mayor was desirous of seeing me; that the time had arrived when he would have to take into consideration the question of the personnel of the office of the Commissioner of Public Works; that private information had come to him that Commissioner Daly was going to resign. This was the last of the week, and the first of the next week the resignation was likely to come into his hands, and he wanted to act promptly upon the matter of his successor, and requested that I should name two or three men as suitable candidates for that place, and also intimated that he would like to see me. Mr. Phillips made an arrangement for me to call upon him, and I went to the office of the New York Life and met him there by appointment.

PROMISES TO RETAIN MURRAY AND KERWIN

In that conversation, the subject of the Power of Removal Bill was discussed, and I assured him

that I was ready to coöperate to secure whatever kind of legislation he required in that respect. But as a preliminary to that, I wanted to know whether he had any intention of removing Commissioners Murray and Kerwin, stating to him in that conversation that in my opinion these men were not only true Republicans, but honest men, and were in no way under obligations to Tammany Hall for their appointment; and but for securing their appointment prior to the election, we could not have secured an honest election in the city; and in my judgment it was very doubtful whether he could have been elected, because with their support we had the support of the Superintendent of Police, and it made a difference of 25,000 or 30,000 votes at the least calculation in the Republican vote of the city. He assented to all this, and assured me that he could not think of removing these men; that he believed them to be all that I said, and I might rest assured that under no circumstances would those men be removed. We then took up the question of the resignation of Commissioner Daly, and I told him that I did not believe there was any such purpose intended, but that I could find out very soon (this occurred on Saturday), and that I would let him know by Monday whether there was anything in that statement. I did investigate, and found there was no such intention, and said to him that until it was a settled fact that Mr. Daly was going to

resign, I did not care to make any suggestions as to nominees for the Commissionership.

The Power of Removal Bill passed the Assembly and was in the shape that was recommended by the Committee of Seventy. Immediately after its passage, mutual friend Phillips called upon me again, saying that he had just come from the Mayor and was anxious that the bill should be amended, chiefly as to the four-months' clause, he desiring to change it to six months, and also that he desired it to be amended so that the President of the Board of Aldermen should not be clothed with the same powers and privileges that he was. I immediately communicated with the Republican leaders in the Senate at Albany, and told them what the Mayor desired, and told them that I thought the bill ought to be amended to meet his wishes. This was promptly done, very much to the embarrassment of our friends in the Senate, who were charged by our friends in the Assembly with trifling with them and making them appear ridiculous.

I SUGGEST GRANT OR WELLS

The next and last interview that I had with him (Strong) was after the Power of Removal Bill had passed or was about to pass, when mutual friend Phillips made an engagement for me to meet him at his house, where I spent the evening, remaining at least two hours or two hours and a

half. At that interview he renewed and emphasized his assurances that under no circumstances would Murray and Kerwin be removed, going so far as to say, in his opinion, it would be an outrage to turn so good and true men and Republicans out of place; men who had served the party so well and to whom he was under such obligations. The question of the Commissionership of Public Works was considered, and he asked me to suggest two or three names. First I suggested Hon. James L. Wells, of this city, stating that he was a man of high character, excellent business qualifications, a good executive man, and that I would vouch for him as being an honest, capable and efficient man in that place. He did not seem to be pleased with that suggestion, because he said he knew nothing about him, and had never heard of him. I then suggested the name of Colonel Fred D. Grant, stating that he was a man who was not in any way connected with either faction; was a man whose name would give character and strength to the position, and who was capable of discharging the duties of the office to his satisfaction and satisfaction of the party. His answer was: "That is a good name. I do not think we need look any further." And I left him with the feeling that he intended to make Colonel Grant the Commissioner of Public Works. I have no doubt at that time that he did think so, because I have heard from several sources that he stated that for two or three days that was his purpose.

This is the only suggestion that I have ever made to him in the way of patronage, either directly or indirectly. And that one recommendation was for no other purpose than to make this place, which was the most important place in his gift, free from faction, and have some man put there who would distribute the favors with reference to the good of the party.

STRONG REPUDIATES PLEDGES

How Colonel Strong violated his agreement was disclosed soon after his election. Despite his pledges, he made absolutely no appointments of men recommended by the Republican organization. He named as his Corporation Counsel, Francis M. Scott, now a Justice of the Supreme Court. Scott had, as the spokesman for William R. Grace, arisen in the final conference of the Committee of Seventy, and avowed that neither Grace nor he nor the organization he represented would support Colonel Strong, but would insist upon the nomination of a Democrat for Mayor. Colonel Strong secured the backing of Grace and his organization afterward, by promising that Scott should get the position he finally was awarded.

William Brookfield, who was at that time doing all he could to cause the organization to repudiate my friends, was appointed to the Commissionership of Public Works, the most important office within the gift of the Mayor. Colonel Waring

was put in charge of the Street Cleaning Department, and no organization leader could get a place from him during his entire administration.

MURRAY AND KERWIN REMOVED

Within about six weeks after the passage of the bill granting absolute power of removal to the Mayor, Strong lopped off the heads of Police Commissioners Murray and Kerwin, the Republican members of the board. He did this despite a positive pledge to Governor Morton and Lieutenant-Governor Saxton and myself that if he were granted the proposed legislation he would retain both Murray and Kerwin.

Thus was Murray rewarded for his activity in procuring Strong's nomination. On election night, Strong had put his arm around Murray at Police Headquarters, and in the presence of many persons effusively thanked him for his nomination and election. Mayor Strong never publicly, so far as I have been able to ascertain, furnished the slightest reason for removing Commissioners Murray and Kerwin. A friend of the Mayor has told me since that the Mayor assured him that he awakened one night and made up his mind that he ought to get rid of Murray and Kerwin. Then he prayed over it and finally concluded to carry his design into execution.

BROOKFIELD PUNISHED

In the winter of 1894, while Mayor-elect Strong was making up his cabinet, there came an irresistible demand for a change in the chairmanship of the Republican County Committee. William Brookfield then held the place, and it soon became known that he was to be Strong's Commissioner of Public Works and use the patronage of that great office to cripple the majority faction in the organization. Convinced that this could and must not be tolerated, I sent for Commissioner Murray and advised with him as to who our candidate should be. We agreed that we should get behind Edward Lauterbach. While Commissioner Murray and myself were consulting in my office, Mr. Lauterbach entered. I said to him: "Mr. Murray and myself have been considering the reorganization of the Republican County Committee. We have determined that you are the man to make a sacrifice in behalf of the organization."

Mr. Lauterbach asked what it was. I replied: "We have determined upon you as the man to be the next chairman of the Republican County Committee. Mr. Murray thinks he can elect you as such, and I want you should take the office."

Mr. Lauterbach replied that although it would be a personal sacrifice for him to accept the office, yet he was always willing to obey the com-

mands of the organization, and that if I thought he could be of any benefit to the party, he would become a candidate. Though the combined power of the incoming municipal administration was arrayed against us, we finally succeeded in electing Mr. Lauterbach over Brookfield by a small plurality.

That gave my friends and myself more absolute control of the New York County organization than at any time since I was made the State leader of my party.

"I CAN WRITE A LIE AS EASY AS TELL IT"

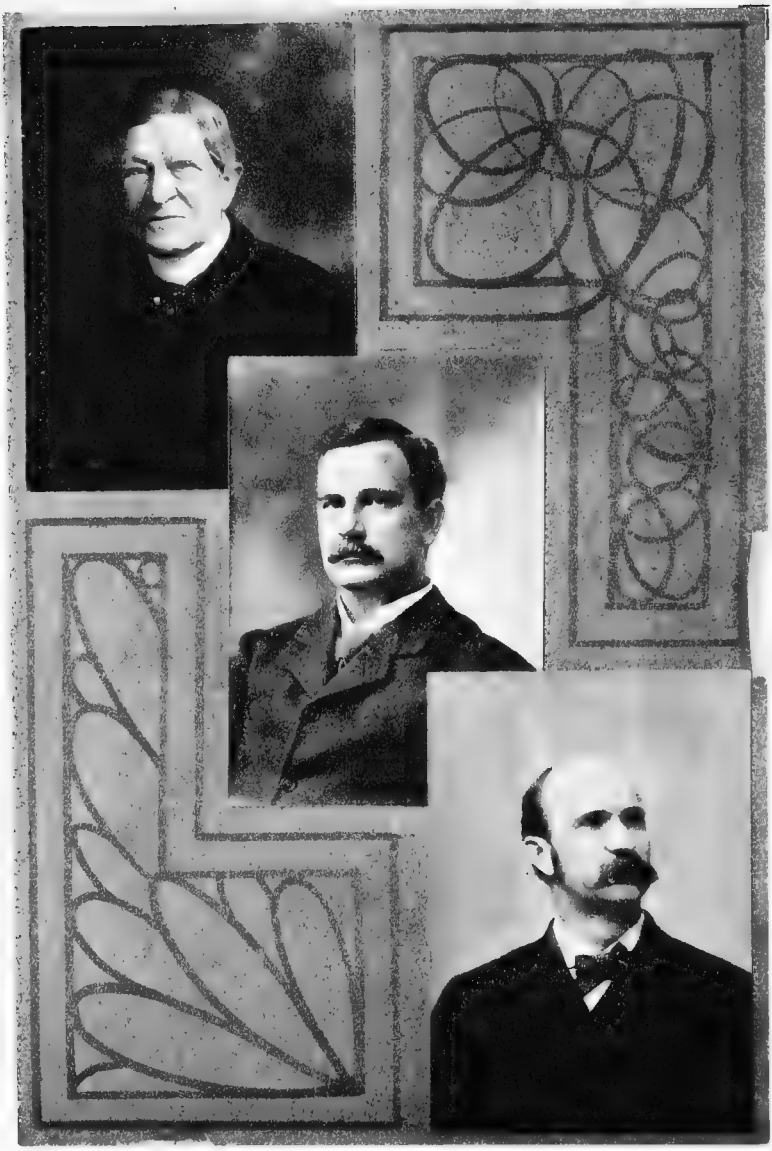
That Strong deliberately repudiated his contract was substantiated when, after his appointments were announced, Lauterbach, as chairman of the County Committee, offered a formal protest and flung in Strong's face the written evidence of his perfidy.

Strong "ha-ha-ed!" and returned: "Well, I can write a lie as easily as I can tell one. I am independent of you now, you know."

The "cuss" words that Lauterbach then applied to Strong would burn the cover of this book.

Strong was another of the fellows who wore a little bunch of whiskers under his chin.

One effect of my experience with him was to call for a barber and have my beard trimmed close, and studiously avoid permitting the growth of any tuft on my neck.



LEVI P. MORTON B. B. ODELL, JR. DAVID B. HILL

CHAPTER XVI

1894-1897

Popular sentiment makes Morton Governor—I am christened "Father of Greater New York"—Insertion of gold Plank in St. Louis platform greatest achievement of my career—Why I supported Morton against McKinley for Presidential nomination—Opponents offer me but I decline the Gubernatorial nomination—Black chosen after free-for-all fight.

While the preliminary steps were being taken to nominate Colonel Strong for Mayor, there was much to do to name a State and Legislative ticket, that would not only aid in making New York City surely Republican, but the entire commonwealth as well. The Democrats seemed firmly intrenched at Albany as in New York. Roswell P. Flower was Governor.

I concluded, early in the spring of 1894, that to redeem the State the Republicans must select for their ticket the strongest men available.

I asked leaders everywhere to give me their unbiased views as to who would best insure the reinstatement of the party in power. With practical unanimity, they told me that the one man

surest to do this was Levi P. Morton. He had been Ambassador to France, Vice-President under the Harrison administration, and several times a formidable candidate for U. S. Senator.

So pronounced was the sentiment for Morton, that in the summer I publicly declared him my personal choice for the Governorship. J. Sloat Fassett, who had made an unsuccessful fight three years earlier, was most vehement in his objections, feeling that he was entitled to head the ticket again. I thought Fassett was young and could afford to wait.

Despite his personal threats to do all he could to defeat Morton and nominate himself, I set things in motion to procure Morton delegates.

Morton was nominated by an overwhelming majority at Saratoga. He was elected by over 156,000, his opponent being David B. Hill, whom in a last desperate moment the Democrats put up against him. For the first time, I think, in history the State and city of New York were simultaneously carried by our party.

The achievements of the Morton administration were great indeed. Under it the people created the Greater New York, reformed the excise and election laws and undid much of the evil perpetrated by the Democratic régime that preceded it.

HOW WE CREATED GREATER NEW YORK

When in 1896 news came from Albany that Governor Morton had approved the bill creating

the Greater New York, I received a call from the late Andrew H. Green, chairman of the Greater New York Commission. Bubbling over with joy, that venerable patriot grasped me by the hand and exclaimed: "I came in to express my gratitude to the Father of the Greater New York."

As I returned his grip, I could not refrain from saying: "And I desire to express my appreciation of the marvelous devotion and work of the Grandfather of the Greater New York."

Green had been a pioneer in the movement for the consolidation of New York, Kings, Queens and Richmond counties into one imperial city. For upward of twenty years this far-seeing citizen had labored to bring into union the people on Manhattan, Long and Staten islands. The realization of his dreams made him very happy.

To Andrew H. Green must be accorded the greatest measure of praise for the establishment of what now is popularly known as the Greater City of New York.

Of the part I played in aiding in the enterprise I prefer that another than myself should speak. No man is more competent to do this than Clarence Lexow, who as a State Senator led the fight at Albany for the enactment of the legislation that resulted in bringing into one municipality three large cities and four counties. Senator Lexow has graciously reduced to writing for these reminiscences his observations. I am glad to include them here. Here is Lexow's own ver-

sion as to how the Greater New York came into being:

LEXOW RECITES HOW IT WAS DONE

No history of the creation of the Greater City would be complete that failed to accord to Senator Platt a large and, in some respects, a determinative share in the struggle that preceded the final triumph of the movement. A brief review of the facts may be useful. The popular movement itself may be said to have had its practical inception in the Legislative session of 1890, when a commission was authorized by the Legislature, known as the Municipal Consolidation Commission, to inquire into the situation, and report its conclusions. This, after an extended inquiry, reported in a memorial, addressed to the Governor and the Legislature, in favor of municipal consolidation.

At this juncture, prominent citizens in large numbers, but in a minority in the city of Brooklyn, organized an aggressive opposition and concentrated the social and political activities of that city against the further progress of the movement. So successful were they then in paralyzing the efforts of the great majority standing behind consolidation, that for the next three years, every Legislative measure designed to carry consolidation into effect was either strangled in committee or met defeat on the floor.

Finally, in the session of 1894, a compromise

was effected, and the first important step forward was taken in the enactment of a bill, providing for the submission of the question of consolidation at the next general election to the electors of the several municipalities directly affected. This compromise was forced by disquieting rumors which the anti-consolidationists had actively spread throughout the State, predicting that consolidation was certain to result in the subjection of the city of Brooklyn to the dominion of Tammany Hall, coupled with the assertion that Brooklyn, then about evenly divided in political affiliations, was strongly opposed to consolidation. The referendum resulted in a popular expression in favor of consolidation, the majority in the city of New York exceeding 40,000, while that in the city of Brooklyn was less than 300.

Immediately upon the convening of the Legislature, in the session of 1895, a bill providing for consolidation, drawn at the instance of the first commission under the inspiration of the late Andrew H. Green, was introduced by the writer, and was followed by other proposed measures of a similar character, but loaded down with provisions for equal taxation, autonomous governments, etc., having for their purpose directly or indirectly to obscure the true issue and defeat the project.

In the meanwhile, the opposition had perfected its organization, under the name of the Loyal League of Brooklyn, established a local bureau at Albany, and numerous agencies throughout the

State, equipped with ample resources to carry on an aggressive campaign. The small majority in Brooklyn was pointed to as of no binding effect upon the Legislature, and the ghost of Tammany domination was held up before the Republicans of the State, who were cajoled with promises and threatened with dire consequences to future party success, if the bill for consolidation was enacted into law.

The friends of municipal consolidation had perfected no organization to meet such an attack, and after a bitter, prolonged struggle in the Senate, the bill failed of passage.

"PLATT COMES TO THE RESCUE"

It was at this juncture that Senator Platt, who until then had not taken an active interest in the question, was requested to come to the rescue and exercise his powerful influence in favor of consolidation. He hesitated at first to enter the field, after so strong and direct an expression of Republican opposition, especially in view of the pronounced hostility to the movement on the part of many of the most influential party leaders, who, in other matters, were among his most devoted friends. Notably was this true of Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., then chairman of the State committee, and for two terms Governor of the State. Indeed, it required unusual courage, under the circumstances, to undertake a task so fraught with ap-

parent political peril, and so bitterly antagonized by powerful interests, deceived by the threats and catchwords of the opposition—antagonism based in the main upon questions involving future party supremacy.

The fate, certainly for the present generation, if not forever, of the creation of Greater New York hung in the balance during these days that Senator Platt devoted to a careful examination of the many questions involved, as well as those of the present and of the future, because as afterward clearly appeared, there was no influence of sufficient magnitude in this State to have secured the favorable passage of the bill, had his decision then been adverse to the project. But the dictates of patriotic and constructive statesmanship overcame the over-cautious fears of the politician.

CONSOLIDATION RIGHT AND LOGICAL

Senator Platt reached the decision that consolidation was right and logical and necessary to the complete and rational development of the metropolis; that it, moreover, involved none of the dangers which its opponents flamboyantly predicted, but on the contrary was an irrepressible movement which, aside from the glamor of greatness, was inspired by consideration of commercial expansion and supremacy of a city whose existence as the metropolis of this hemisphere was being threatened. No sooner did the Senator

reach this conclusion, than an organization against consolidation was met by a more effective organization in favor of municipal union. And at the opening of the Legislative session of 1896, two organizations confronted each other, in probably the most aggressive and in some respects most theatrical struggle for supremacy that has ever been witnessed at the State capital.

A campaign of education was launched, and under a concurrent resolution of the Legislature, a committee, of which the writer was chairman, was appointed to inquire into the situation, particularly in the city of Brooklyn, and report its conclusions. Hearings were had both in New York City and Brooklyn, and later in the capitol at Albany. By a unanimous vote the committee reported in favor of consolidation and presented a bill to accomplish that object. It was then that the real contest in the Legislature developed. And while the bill met no serious obstacle in the Senate, it was not until the last vote in the Assembly was counted that its success became assured.

THE STRUGGLE CLOSE AND BITTER

Seldom, in all the many bitter contests that have been developed on the floor of the Assembly Chamber, has there ever been witnessed so fierce and close a struggle as attended the passage of this bill.

It required all Senator Platt's energy, and the

full weight of his influence throughout the State, to secure a constitutional majority. Those who were active in that impressive drama, and especially those who participated in the steps leading up to its final climax, fully appreciate the restless activity and indomitable courage that animated the Senator during the anxious hours when the strongest and bitterest opponents of the bill were to be counted among his otherwise strongest friends and party followers.

They fully appreciate that but for his self-denying efforts, at the risk of the alienation of friends on every side, and but for his unselfish devotion to a great principle of public policy, New York would not be crowned to-day with the diadem of imperial city of the Western Hemisphere. To Senator Platt, indeed, belongs the highest credit for this, perhaps the greatest creative measure that has been placed upon the statute books of the State.

Senator Platt's interest in Greater New York did not abate with the mere Legislative creation of the metropolis. On the contrary, the commission which was appointed to frame the charter, and the Legislative committee which was continued as an auxiliary to aid in that respect, conferred repeatedly with the Senator throughout the summer of 1896, and many of the Senator's suggestions upon questions of general importance and policy were approved and embodied in the

charter which was passed at the next session of the Legislature.

Many may aspire to recognition as pioneers in the great movement for municipal union. Many may claim the rendition of distinguished service during the evolutionary stages and in the final successful accomplishment. The name of Andrew H. Green will be remembered as long as the memory of the Greater New York itself lasts, as the indefatigable advocate and unswerving champion of the cause. But no history of that ideal conception and marvelous creation will be truthful or adequate which fails to concede to Senator Platt the undeniable tribute that his work, energy and self-denial made Greater New York possible of achievement for the present generation.

THE "CLINCHER" TO MORTON

(Note by the Editor.)

That Governor Morton originally was by no means favorable to the Greater New York enterprise, and had to be admonished by Senator Platt that he would lose his support for the Presidential nomination, unless he approved the consolidation act, is revealed in a letter addressed to the Governor early in January of 1896. Senator Platt then sent the Governor a personal note that is believed to have induced him to finally employ his influence for the enactment of the consolidation law, and attach his signature to it.

Here is Senator Platt's "clincher" to Governor Morton:

49 Broadway, New York,
January 3, 1896.

(*Confidential.*)

Hon. Levi P. Morton,
Executive Chamber, Albany.

My Dear Governor:

I put it mildly when I say to you that I was disgusted and disheartened when General Tracy handed me yesterday your letter to him of December 31st, relative to Greater New York. When we sought and had the conference with you at General Tracy's house on this question, it was for the purpose of having definitely settled what your position would be on this great question. There could have been no misunderstanding on your part as to what was our intention and purpose in that interview with you, because our entire programme was definitely stated and thoroughly explained, and we went away from that conference understanding that you were in full accord and would stand by us to the end. Now, at the very opening of the Legislature, as I have expressed it to you before, you "take to the woods" and are leaving us in the lurch. Nothing can be done in this matter if you are going to pursue the same policy that you did last year with reference to legislation in this city, and open a back-fire on our friends in the Legislature, not only with certain members of the Legislature, but with the

newspaper correspondents. I say to you that this whole business utterly discourages and demoralizes me; and it makes me wonder *what would be the result if you succeeded in becoming President of the United States* and had to meet such issues as are involved in the questions of the present hour, for instance, the Venezuelan question and the Bond question. Your message on the subject of Greater New York was, to put it mildly, as weak as dishwater; last year you were quite outspoken. Evidently the raid on you by Mr. Low and Company had its effect. You understood at the interview above referred to that this was what was likely to happen; that the enemies of the measure would do everything in their power to prevent the passage of this bill and would resort to just the arguments that they are using; and would do everything in their power to intimidate you. This was our reason for calling upon you, so that we might know that you would stand firmly by the programme. These men who have been visiting you from Brooklyn are, as you well know, the men who are the champions of the opposition. The great mass of the people, both in New York City and Brooklyn, who favor consolidation, have not such a personal interest in the matter that they take the trouble to visit you and express their views. If it is necessary to deluge you with letters from good men in Brooklyn, in order to stiffen you up, it is a very easy matter to do it, and we can have large committees appointed to wait upon

you with reference to that question. I had supposed from the beginning that you were in favor of it as a matter of public policy. I have a suspicion that our good friend, Colonel Cole, your private secretary, has been frightened by these shadows, and is also in favor of "taking to the woods." Now, as one of the results of your letter to General Tracy, Senator Lexow positively declines to be the Chairman of the Cities Committee, for the reason that he says he does not wish to suffer the same humiliations and sad experiences that he did last year from Executive back-fire, and through your interference and opposition. This is equivalent to demoralization at the outset. And if you are to persist in the policy which you have outlined in your letter, we might as well quit right where we are and not introduce any resolution or bill for Greater New York; but I assure you that you will be the greater sufferer from such a cowardly policy. *In such case I will not feel like taking off my coat and doing the work I contemplated doing in the Presidential matter.* I might as well be frank with you now. If matters of legislation are to be run on the issue of the Presidential candidacy, it will be impossible for us to accomplish anything upon any questions which involve sharp differences of opinion, however strongly the balance may be in favor of the course which the organization is recommending.

Now, in conclusion, let me say, while I have spoken with great frankness and freedom in this

matter, I do not want you to take any offense. You know it is my way always to speak out in meeting; and it is a great deal better to say what I have to say than to let it rankle.

Yours truly,

T. C. Platt.

MY FAREWELL SONG

February 12, 1896, I recall with tenderness. It was on that night that I sang in public for the last time. It was at a dinner of the Progress Club, of the Tenth Assembly District, New York County. I had indeed become the "Old Man," as my boys fondly called me. My voice trembled both through lack of strength and much emotion. I did my best to lead the chorus with my favorite—Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic."

I got as far as: "In the beauty of the lilies, Christ was born across the sea——"

Then I guess I broke down.

But the boys took up the chorus and ripped out: "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah!" with a lustiness that brought a big lump in my throat.

MY GREATEST TRIUMPH—THE GOLD VICTORY OF '96

It was in 1896 that I scored what I regard as the greatest achievement of my political career. That was the insertion of the gold plank in the St. Louis platform. Early in his first term in

Congress, William McKinley, of Ohio, had first espoused the cause of bi-metallism, and then all but declared that the white instead of the yellow metal should be the standard of monetary value. Mark A. Hanna, who had assumed the management of the campaign whose ultimate object was to name and elect McKinley successor to President Cleveland, sent agents through the country two years in advance of the National Convention, pledging his choice to gold in gold States, and silver in silver States. In Wyoming, for instance, the delegates to St. Louis were instructed to support McKinley and use all honorable means to secure the adoption of a platform declaring for free silver.

Within the first few months of Levi P. Morton's term as Governor of New York I became convinced that he would prove admirable Presidential timber. He had been Ambassador to France, had proved a dignified and polished Vice-President, possessed the confidence of business interests the world over, and had already established himself as the safest Governor New York ever had. Republicans and Democrats and Independents began writing me almost from the day of Morton's inauguration in January, 1895, that if he were to head the Presidential ticket, his election was a certainty. They urged that having defeated David B. Hill by 156,000 plurality in 1894, after the Democrats had carried the State almost con-

stantly since 1881, he would be sure to carry it for the Presidency in 1896.

I SUPPORT MORTON FOR PRESIDENT

So universal seemed the demand for Morton that I finally formally declared myself in favor of the nomination of the Governor for the Presidency.

Almost immediately newspapers and other advocates of the nomination of McKinley turned their batteries upon Morton and myself. Mark A. Hanna started a campaign for his favorite in New York State. Believing that New York possessed a right to express a preference for one of her sons, we combated the invasion of the McKinley champions. They seemed disposed to regard Morton as an interloper, and refused to recognize any claims New York might have to name the Presidential candidate. When assaults upon the choice of New York became intolerable, we concluded that we would strike back. I stated my objections to the nomination of Mr. McKinley as clearly as I could in a public utterance, May 11, 1896. Here are the main points of it:

WHY I OPPOSED M'KINLEY

"My opposition to Governor McKinley proceeds almost entirely from my belief that his nomination would bring the Republican party into turmoil and

trouble. He is not a well-balanced man of affairs. Governor McKinley is not a great man as Mr. Reed (Thomas B.) is. He is not a trained and educated public man as Senator Allison is. He is not an astute political leader as Senator Quay is. He is simply a clever gentleman, much too amiable and much too impressionable to be safely intrusted with great executive office; whose desire for honor happens to have the accidental advantage of the association of his name with the last Republican protective tariff.

"There are two qualities—resolution and courage—which the people always require in their chief magistrate. McKinley represents the most radical and extreme view of protection. I foresee the greatest dangers to the Republican party as the result of extreme tariff legislation.

"Fully as important as the tariff bill—yes, more so—is the measure that must be devised to render our currency system intelligible, safe and elastic. If Major McKinley has any real convictions on the subject of the currency, they are not revealed in his votes or his speeches.

HE VOTED FOR A FIFTY-CENT DOLLAR!

"He voted once for free and unlimited coinage of silver. He voted to override the veto of President Hayes of the Bland bill, and at times he has voted in direct conflict with these votes. He has described himself as a bi-metallist; as in

favor of the free coinage of both metals. His Ohio platform proposes another experiment in silver coinage, such as the Bland-Allison act or the Sherman law, with the party between the metals enforced by legislation.

"This should remove McKinley from the list of Presidential possibilities. The people of this country have had enough of the attempts to force fifty cents worth of silver into circulation as a dollar. They have suffered incalculable losses as a result of twenty years of such politics."

Whether or not this declaration wielded any influence in the outcome of the New York Republican State Convention, it is nevertheless the fact that that convention instructed the delegation to the National Convention at St. Louis to vote first, last and all the time for Morton for the Presidential nomination.

Our delegation went to St. Louis. Attacks upon Morton, particularly from the McKinley camp, continued. Hanna and his friends sought by every means in their power to render null and void the instructions of the New York State Convention. Until the New York representatives reached the convention city, there appeared to be a determined disposition on the part of Hanna and others who conducted the McKinley canvass to pledge the party to a straddle on the currency question. New York and the Eastern States generally made up their minds that the convention should declare

unequivocally for the gold standard. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts; the late Joseph H. Manley, manager for Thomas B. Reed; the late Samuel Fessenden, of Connecticut; Myron T. Herrick, of Ohio; H. H. Kohlsaat, of Illinois; Governor Merriam, of Minnesota; Henry C. Payne, of Wisconsin, afterward Postmaster-General; Congressman Watson and State Chairman Gowdy, of Indiana; Senator Redfield Proctor, of Vermont and others, united with us in seeking to point out the fatal blunder that would be committed if we failed to put ourselves on record for sound money against the debased currency plan which was being advocated by Senator Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, and other devotees of the white metal.

That the attitude of New York might be emphasized, the delegation was called into caucus on June 15, one day prior to the assembling of the convention. The McKinley managers sought at the outset to capture the delegation by trying to force the selection of former U. S. Senator Warner Miller for chairman and spokesman for the delegation. Of course, that precipitated a stormy contest. For the moment the money question was forgotten in the strife provoked by the effort of Hanna and other McKinley advocates to control us.

I HAD TO BEAT MILLER AGAIN

Miller had himself formally presented for chairman. Very reluctantly I consented that my name also should be submitted. My friends urged that inasmuch as the battle seemed to be directed against Morton, myself and the gold standard, I ought to be the man about whom the allies of Morton and a sound money plank must rally.

Chauncey M. Depew was chosen temporary chairman. He did his best, in a diplomatic speech, to produce harmony, but the McKinley men seemed spoiling for a fight. Warner Miller delivered a savage attack upon those delegates who still persisted in supporting Morton. He had been chosen delegate upon the express pledge that he would be as loyal to Morton as any of the Governor's adherents. What promise was made to Miller by the McKinley managers as a reward for his change, I do not know. Miller's speech enraged all delegates who believed that promises were made to be fulfilled and instructions to be obeyed. Convinced that he could not be chosen chairman of the delegation, Miller sought to effect a compromise by suggesting Depew. Depew declined the honor. Miller renewed his strictures upon the Morton men, and assailed me for my opposition to McKinley. Perhaps as effective a reply as any to him was made by Thurlow Weed Barnes when he asked: "Who is entitled to the greater honor —a man who comes out squarely and makes a

fight, or a man who sneaked into this delegation with a knife in his sleeve?"

Senator John Raines furiously shook his fist in Miller's face, and hissed: "You are the chief of the kickers in New York. You have been faithless in everything, faithful in nothing!"

After a morning session, and another late in the afternoon, I was elected chairman by a vote of 53 to 17 for Miller. That clinched the delegation for Morton and the gold standard. There followed the declaration of New York and its delegates on the currency question. Lemuel Ely Quigg offered the resolution. It ran as follows:

NEW YORK FOR A HUNDRED-CENT DOLLAR

Whereas, The New York delegation favors and heartily supports the strongest system that can be devised, it recognizes the imperative necessity of maintaining the present gold standard of value and condemning the free coinage of silver.

Resolved, That the representative of the delegation on the Committee on Resolutions be instructed to present to that committee the following as the sense of the delegation and recommend its adoption:

Resolved, That we favor the maintenance of the present gold standard, and are opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement for bi-metallism, with the leading commercial nations of the world.

This was unanimously adopted, Miller and other McKinley men offering no opposition.

But when Abraham Gruber submitted a resolution renewing the pledge of the New York convention, that every delegate stick to Morton to the finish, the McKinley supporters opposed it. We carried it through by a vote of 56 to 13.

Edward Lauterbach, in obedience to the instructions of the delegation, submitted the gold resolution to the committee. The influence of New York was manifested when the Committee on Resolutions approved, and later the convention followed suit with the adoption of this genuine gold plank:

THE PLANK WE FORCED

The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money.

It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879. Since then, every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote. And until such an agreement can be obtained, the existing gold standard must be preserved. All the silver and paper currency now

in circulation must be maintained at parity with gold, and we favor all measures designed to maintain inviolably the obligations of the United States, and all money in coin or paper, at the present standard of the most enlightened nations on earth.

I doubt if I can better relate the accurate history of the struggle over the gold plank at St. Louis than by quoting from memoranda prepared by Charles W. Hackett, chairman of the New York Republican State Committee, 1896. He was in the thick of the combat, and was invaluable to us in securing the victory we achieved. Hackett drew up the notes before his death, as an answer to statements of certain Republicans, hostile to our regular organization, who sought to deprive the New York and New England delegations of the credit of placing the party and its candidates squarely on the gold standard platform.

HANNA WOULD HAVE STRADDLED

Hackett wrote:

"So far as the credit for what was done is concerned, the friends of Mr. Platt and Senator Lodge are more than satisfied with the newspaper reports that were printed at the time. They told who did it. They showed the essential fact that Mr. Hanna and those who were working with him

came to St. Louis with a straddle. Below I give the original Hanna plank, in contrast with the plank that was finally adopted by the convention.

"Original Hanna plank:

"The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money.

"It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879. Since then, every dollar has been as good as gold. We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing standard must be preserved. We favor the use of silver in our currency to the extent only that its parity with gold can be maintained, and we favor all measures designed to maintain our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

"Plank as adopted by the convention:

"The Republican party is unreservedly for sound money.

"It caused the enactment of the law providing for the resumption of specie payments in 1879. Since then, every dollar has been as good as gold.

We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are therefore opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, *which we pledge ourselves to promote,* and until such agreement can be obtained, the existing *Gold* standard must be preserved. *All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold,* and we favor all measures designed to maintain *inviolably the obligations of the United States,* and all our money, whether coin or paper, at the present standard, the standard of the most enlightened nations of the earth.

A FIGHT FOR HONEST MONEY

"A comparison of these two planks shows exactly what the fight of Senator Platt and Senator Lodge, backed by the New York and New England delegations, accomplished for the cause of honest money, for the credit of the Republican party and for the good of the country. The two planks are identical until the clause is reached in which the possibility of an international agreement is mentioned, and in that clause we conceded the insertion of the words 'which we pledge ourselves to promote,' and in return for that we obtained three concessions. They were:

"First—The insertion of the world 'gold' in

the expression 'the existing standard,' so as to make it read 'the existing gold standard.'

"Second—The striking out of the clause: 'We favor the use of silver in our currency, but to the extent only that the parity with gold can be maintained,' and the substitution for that clause of the following: 'All our silver and paper currency must be maintained at parity with gold'; and

"Third—The insertion of the words 'the obligations of the United States' in the clause declaring that all our currency must be maintained at the present standard.

HOW WE DEFEATED THE "STRADDLE"

"Mr. Platt and his party arrived at St. Louis on Thursday, June 11. They directed their attention at once to the financial plank. They found that the sentiment of such delegates as were then on the ground was strongly in favor of what Mr. Hanna was quoted as calling 'the middle ground' —in other words, a straddle. At Mr. Platt's instance, the New York delegates, as they arrived, were urged to combat this idea at all points. Not much was accomplished on Friday and Saturday. The contests that were going on in the National Committee created a great deal of feeling and distracted attention from the controversy about the platform. But the National Committee completed its work on Saturday night, and by

that time the delegates had arrived from all parts of the country and fully four-fifths of the members of the convention were present on the ground. It was then that the struggle over the platform began in good earnest.

"Senator Lodge arrived on Sunday morning and came immediately to Mr. Platt's headquarters. They found one another to be of the same mind as to the kind of plank that must be adopted, and as to their purpose to fight for it. Mr. Lodge called upon Mr. Hanna and found him engaged in reading and revising the speech of the temporary chairman, Mr. Fairbanks. That was Sunday afternoon. Mr. Fairbanks' speech was given to the press the next day. It did not contain the word 'gold.' It mentioned 'honest money' and 'sound money' and 'sound standard,' but the word 'gold,' which was the vital point of the whole controversy, did not appear. This proves what the intention of Mr. Hanna and his friends was on Sunday afternoon, when they had completed the revision of Mr. Fairbanks' speech.

"Mr. Hanna told Mr. Lodge that while he was as good a gold man as anybody else, he was not in favor of driving away from the Republican party those great numbers of Republicans in the South and West to whom the use of the word 'gold' in the platform would be offensive. Mr. Lodge replied that he did not think there were any such Republicans, except in the silver-producing States. He argued that the Republican party

meant 'gold,' and ought to say so, and he said plainly that unless the word 'gold' was in the platform there would be a fight on the floor of the convention. Mr. Hanna asked what delegation would make the fight, and Mr. Lodge replied that the Massachusetts would, for one. Mr. Hanna asked what delegations would support Massachusetts, and Mr. Lodge replied that the New York delegation would. Mr. Hanna said that he was otherwise informed, and Mr. Lodge left with the impression that the use of the word 'gold' would not be conceded.

AN INVINCIBLE COMBINATION FOR GOLD

"When Mr. Lodge informed Mr. Platt of the results of his conversation with Mr. Hanna, a conference was at once called by Mr. Platt of the sound money States. New York, New England, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Washington, Tennessee, Minnesota and Illinois were represented at this conference, and it was determined to carry the fight on the floor of the convention. A brief and simple gold plank was adopted as embodying the sense of the conference.

"This was on Sunday night. The next day, Congressman Quigg had an interview with General Grosvernor and Mr. Herrick, of Ohio, and Governor Merriam, of Minnesota. He showed them the proposed gold plank, named the delegations that would support it, and informed them

that the fight would have to go into the convention unless an agreement could be reached which would place the party squarely in favor of the gold standard. Mr. Quigg was informed that there was a disposition to meet the views of the New York and New England delegations. All day Monday the struggle went on, New York and New England delegates visiting the delegations from other States and reporting to Mr. Lodge and Mr. Platt as to the strength that could be commanded in the convention in the event of a fight there. Before nightfall it was evident that we had a majority of the convention.

"That night Governor Merriam came to Mr. Platt, and Mr. Kohlsaat went to Mr. Lodge, with a draft of the original Hanna plank with the word 'gold' inserted, and with the statement that it would be conceded. Mr. Platt sent for Mr. Lodge, and, upon his arrival—Mr. Lauterbach, Mr. Quigg and Mr. Hackett being also present—the Hanna plank was considered in detail. Mr. Lauterbach, who had been appointed as the New York representative on the Committee on Resolutions, declared that he could not assent to any plank which did not say distinctly that all the obligations of the United States should be paid in gold. Objection was also made to the sentence 'We favor the use of silver as money, to the extent only that its parity with gold can be maintained,' on the ground that this would be considered as lending countenance to further purchase of silver, because, in

the view of the silver men, much more silver than the sum now in use could be maintained. Mr. Hanna's plank was revised at this conference and put in the form in which it was finally adopted by the convention, and with the distinct assurance of Mr. Platt and Mr. Lodge that nothing else would be accepted.

HANNA CAPITULATES

"When this conference was ended the fight was ended. We knew before we went to bed that night that our demands were acceded to. Nor can any amount of post-mortem cavil take the credit of this victory from the men whose courage and pertinacity earned it.

"I do not myself think that the Ohio managers were sentimentally opposed to the use of the word 'gold.' They simply did not want to magnify the money issue or offend what they believed to be a widespread Southern and Western opinion. The statements of Southern and Western delegates, however, showed that the Ohio managers were mistaken in their idea of Republican opinion in the South and West, and that the sound money sentiment among Republicans in those sections is almost as general and as earnest as it is with us in the East."

"PLATT MADE M'KINLEY'S ELECTION CERTAIN"

General Clarkson again has kindly paid me this compliment: "In virtually forcing gold into the Republican platform, as by his skilful organization and the assembling of irresistible forces he did, when McKinley, Hanna, and the great mass of party leaders with him were in fact opposed to it, Senator Platt succeeded and, in succeeding, made McKinley's election possible. The cynics said at the time that he did it to load McKinley down and defeat him. The result proved that McKinley would have been defeated without it. In the campaign for election, Mr. Platt, in supplement to Mr. Hanna and his most masterful campaign, contributed the final certainty of McKinley's success—giving again with Hanna, as he had done with Quay, the saving moiety of votes without which the party and McKinley would have failed."

M'KINLEY NOMINATED

Though Morton was defeated and McKinley nominated, to New York and its band of delegates must be ascribed the lion's share of the credit for preventing the approval of a meaningless money plank. We returned home and worked like beavers for McKinley and Hobart, satisfied that we had voiced the sentiment of our State on all questions, and won on the one that, if Hanna and other powerful leaders had had their way, would

WILLIAM McKINLEY

have resulted in defeat at the polls and a stain upon the escutcheon, not only of the party, but the National Government.

BLACK NAMED AND ELECTED GOVERNOR

We rolled up over a quarter of a million plurality for the national ticket, and somewhat less for our State nominees, headed by Frank S. Black, the candidate for Governor.

Black was nominated after one of the most rousing free-for-all State conventions the party had had since war days. Speaker Hamilton Fish, George W. Aldridge, Lieutenant-Governor Charles T. Saxton, Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., and others were among the aspirants. The rivalry became so intense that James J. Belden and a number of the old Half-Breed combination importuned me to settle it by taking the nomination myself. Belden, while Milholland rooters outside my cottage were singing "Hang Tom Platt to a Sour Apple Tree!" purred to me—and Belden was a sly old political fox:

"The boss of the party ought to be Governor. You are boss; therefore you should be Governor."

I scented another Machiavellian trick to put me under the sod. I caught the gleam of Half-breed tomahawks and escaped them by replying: "When tried and true friends ask me to run for Governor, I may consider the proposition. No

friends have yet urged it; therefore I shall not permit my name to go before the convention."

I declined also to express any preference as to who should be nominated. After a three days' contest, during which several ballots were taken and Aldridge was in the lead, a conference of the leaders was called. At first it developed a majority for Odell. So sure was Odell that he was to head the ticket that he joyously rushed to a telegraph office and wired his wife of his happiness.

Meantime, however, Lou. Payn was very busy. So busy and so skilful was Payn, that within a short time after Odell had seemed to be decided on, he pledged a majority of the leaders for Black.

The conference reconvened and Black was selected, with Timothy L. Woodruff as his running mate.

The convention ratified the conference agreement. Odell was extremely disappointed that the delicious cup had been taken from his lips just as he was about to drink of it. But he proved a good soldier, and joined us in electing the nominees, quite as eagerly as he would had his dearest wish been fulfilled.

Black's resemblance to Abraham Lincoln, his matchless oratory and the fame he had won in sending election day murderers and repeaters to the electric chair and prison, made it easy to elect him and his associates, and secure an overwhelming majority in the Legislature.

HANNA, THE BUSINESS MAN IN POLITICS

I doubt if I can more appropriately close this chapter than by testifying to the sagacious management of the Presidential canvass, not only in 1896, but in 1900, by Mark A. Hanna, as chairman of the National Committee, and my admiration for him as a man and associate United States Senator, and to my esteem for Levi P. Morton.

Hanna typified the business man in politics. His advent as a power in his Ohio home was almost coincident with the passage of the McKinley tariff act in 1890.

His chance, nationally, came when disaster, as a result of a misunderstanding of the new tariff act, shattered the Republican forces, not only in Ohio, but in other States.

While other leaders were in the doldrums, Hanna reorganized the party in his State, and made McKinley, though he had been recently defeated for return to Congress, Governor.

Abundantly supplied with money, and able to command any number of millions he needed, Hanna really began his campaign to make McKinley President, immediately after the defeat of Harrison in 1892. He had the South practically solid before some of us awakened. Then he picked off enough Western and Pacific Slope States, before the convention met, to render him and McKinley invincible in 1896.

Hanna's success as chairman of the National Committee was due to the confidence business interests had in him, and the unprecedented and unlimited campaign fund on which he could draw.

He would have been helpless without this. While Quay could and did win with or without money, Hanna would have been swamped without it.

Hanna was a lovable character personally. His heart was as big as the house in which he lived. McKinley and he were as brothers. McKinley's tragic death quite broke Hanna's heart, and hastened his own demise. He survived the man he twice elevated to the Presidency only a few years. Had he lived a bit longer he might have been President. That appeared to be his ambition. And had he succeeded Roosevelt he would have proved a great President.

MORTON, THE SAFE MAN

Levi P. Morton was, in my judgment, the safest Governor New York ever had. Business experience had taught him conservatism. He never was influenced by crazy theorists, but conducted his administration as he did his great private financial institutions. Two great statutes redound to the credit of his regime. One was the Raines liquor tax law, that absolutely divorced the rum traffic from politics and added at least fifteen millions to the annual revenues of the State and localities. The other was the creation of Greater New York.

For his approval of both, Morton should be regarded as a great public benefactor. He brought to the office the diplomatic skill acquired as Ambassador to France and the dignity developed during a four years' term as Vice-President of the United States.

Morton assumed the Governorship after twelve years of Democratic maladministration. Without beating of tom-toms or crash of cymbals, the "man from Wall Street," as his opponents were pleased to characterize him, quietly but judiciously reorganized the financial methods of the commonwealth and placed them upon a surplus-making instead of a deficiency basis. The people of New York may have had more spectacular and pretentious rulers, but they never enjoyed the reign of a more sane, conscientious and incorruptible master than the one who was chief of the government from 1895 to 1897.

CHAPTER XVII

1897-1898

Personal and political attacks compel me to stand again for the Senate—Choate pitted against me by old-time enemies—Elected, but keenly disappointed that I was not returned unanimously—Views on protective tariff, finance and other national problems—The Low-Tracy mayoralty fight—Why I upheld Tracy.

But for attacks upon my private and public character, I should never have been a candidate for office again. It so happened, however, that after the Presidential and State campaigns of 1896, I was subjected to almost daily cuts and thrusts from enemies of the Republican party and the New York organization. Those who preferred to misunderstand me and my friends, saw fit to misconstrue every word and every act.

Almost from the hour that the election returns disclosed the triumph of McKinley and Black, and insured a Republican majority in the Legislature, I was besought by loyal friends to permit my name to go before the Republican caucus for U. S. Senator. I had practically made up my mind that I would support almost anybody who had been devoted to the party and the organization, when a

campaign was inaugurated to make Joseph H. Choate the successor of David B. Hill. Though Mr. Choate had never been my political friend, I doubt if I should have offered obstinate opposition to his candidacy but for the virulent assaults his backers constantly leveled at me. I received many letters, telegrams and personal visits from those who had fought the battles of the party and the organization, no matter whether lost or won, imploring me to again become a candidate for the Senate. My reply was that I had no desire to return to Washington; that I preferred to devote myself to private business.

But friends like Governor Morton; Postmaster Cornelius Van Cott, of New York; Governor-elect Black; Lieutenant-Governor-elect Woodruff; Chairman Hackett, of the Republican State Committee, and others, kept at me, and I finally agreed that I would permit them to do as they saw fit.

Toward the approach of the date for the Republican caucus, my opponents began to hold mass meetings in various parts of the State, principally in Brooklyn and Buffalo. They praised Choate and abused me. Indeed, there was no crime, it seemed, with which I was not charged, and no virtue indicated that Choate did not possess.

GENERAL CATLIN SMITES MY ASSAILANTS

I might have still refused to be a candidate but for inexcusable and unwarranted maledictions

upon me, delivered by the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs; former Mayor Charles A. Schieren; James McKeen; Charles Stewart Smith, and others, at a Brooklyn meeting; and Sherman S. Rogers and others at a Buffalo gathering. The following correspondence between General Isaac S. Catlin and Dr. Storrs illustrates the venomous onslaughts made upon me, and how even those who had been opposed to me in factional controversies in the party resented them:

Brooklyn, December 24, 1896.

My Dear and Reverend Sir:

I understand you are among the number who have been invited to a meeting called in Brooklyn to advocate and promote the interests of Joseph H. Choate, Esq., in the coming canvass for U. S. Senator. I am happy that this may be so; for I am aware of your early relations with his distinguished uncle, and of the fact that you entertain a very high regard and admiration for the nephew, in which I join.

I also happen to know how exalted is your sense of justice, and how infinitely above entertaining feelings of malice and sentiments of personal animosity against your fellowmen you are. I therefore undertake to address you upon a subject that lies very near my heart, and in reference to a gentleman who has been mentioned as a probable candidate for the office to which Mr. Choate very properly aspires—Thomas C. Platt. I have been

so habitually and infamously attacked and slandered from time to time, since my entrance into public life, that I feel profound sympathy with any man about whose character and capabilities the public are ignorant or have been outrageously misinformed. When I now read of the gross and vulgar charges made during their lives, against so many of the men of former days, who are enshrined in the hearts of millions of grateful people, I look with horror and indignation upon the same line of charges against so many men of the present day, who, after they have "shuffled off this mortal coil," will in turn be undoubtedly remembered as patriots, philanthropists or benefactors. Well, for years "the depths and shoals of calumny have been sounded; hatred, jealousy and baffled intrigue have mingled their gall in bitter cruelty, and press and demagogue have vied with each other" in attacking the character and reputation of Mr. Platt; and I continue to use the language of the great Conkling and say he "will live in grateful memory when those who have blasted his reputation have moldered in forgotten graves."

I have known Mr. Platt from boyhood. I have watched his course, whether in Tioga County, where we were both born, or in the larger sphere of action in Congress, and as leader of his party in the State; and though I have usually been in factional opposition to him, I undertake to say his methods and conduct in public affairs have been

on the whole honorable, upright and honest. His progress in the successful management of political organizations has been slow but sure; starting out forty years ago with his own election district in the village of Owego, extending to the political control of that village, then of the county, then of the Senatorial and Congressional districts, and finally of his native State, where he stands as a conspicuous figure of national importance. I repeat that Thomas C. Platt has attained his present powerful position in his party and in the country by steady, cautious, conservative, persistent endeavor, and by the use of fair and honorable methods.

I shall recall his election and resignation as U. S. Senator and the defeat of his candidacy for reëlection, simply to state that while at that time Mr. Conkling shared with him, and perhaps was foremost in, the leadership of the Republican party of the State, yet from time to time, from the date of the alleged "crime" as charged against him by Dr. Parkhurst, he has concededly been the chief controlling influence, and the last ten years the acknowledged leader of the great Republican party of the Empire State.

Is it probable that a criminal smirched with the stain of a flagrant moral offense could have attained such eminence in public affairs? Which is the more probable—that he was guilty of the "crime" alleged by his personal and political enemies and by habitual slanderers, or that the in-

trigues of a jealous faction seeking to destroy him were at last baffled and routed entirely?

But taking whichever view you may of this fifteen-year-old story, does the statute of limitations never run against a moral offense? Can such a "crime" never be expiated and forgiven? Must a man in public life be met with a given moral shortcoming, until he escapes it in the tomb?

Mr. Platt is the head of large business interests, involving in turn the interests of hundreds and thousands of other people. He is president of a national bank, of a very large express company, and of one or more railroad companies, and sustains important financial relations with many other institutions as well as with many individuals.

At his three-score-and-four years, with his important and far-reaching financial interests, with his acknowledged primacy in the Republican party of the State, who but one afflicted with paresis, or paralysis, would imagine that he would do any act, or allow any act to be done, to contravene what he believed to be the interests of the people as a whole? True, he is a practical politician, and he believes the success and ascendancy of the Republican party are for the best interests of the city, State and nation. I presume that Major McKinley agrees with him in this regard.

And Mr. Platt, I presume and hope, does not neglect his own interests and those of his family. And why should he? Tell me any successful man

in any profession and occupation in life, who has neglected his own interests, and then hypercritical people may criticize and denounce him on that ground. But one thing is uncontradicted: that no single penny of dishonest money ever reached his purse. These are not inconsistent with, and inimical to, sentiments of patriotism and of good government. During the war for the preservation of the Union, few men, who did not actually enlist in the ranks of the Union army, can boast of a more patriotic record than Mr. Platt.

I raised the first full company of volunteers in the North, on the evening of April 17, 1861, at Owego, N. Y., and afterward helped to raise other troops in Tioga County. And I always had the earnest, zealous and generous aid and coöperation of Thomas C. Platt. When in the spring of 1865, I brought my regiment to Owego to say farewell and disband, they received all that a grateful and generous people could give them in return for their services and sacrifices; and Thomas C. Platt was one of the foremost of the citizens to receive and entertain them.

When on July 4, 1891, the patriotic people of Tioga County had erected and prepared to unveil the handsomest monument in the State to the honor of the Tioga County soldiery, Thomas C. Platt was invited to act as president of the day and receive that splendid "memorial of reverence and love to the brave soldiers who fell in the late war." On that occasion he delivered an address,

which in point of fine diction and patriotic sentiment will compare favorably with any of the great speeches of the day on similar occasions. I take pleasure in forwarding herewith a little volume containing the proceedings of that patriotic day. Is there anything in Mr. Choate's public career that can show greater interest or patriotism in the greatest crisis of our country's history, than this and these on the part of Mr. Platt? Indeed, is there anything in the public career of Mr. Choate to show that he has won a spur or a star or a diploma in the realm of science or literature or statesmanship? He inherited great legal ability, and he has exercised it with eminent success; but has it not been mainly for large fees? He has performed oratorical functions on a few great occasions, but I have yet to see or read one that was in a large sense finished or great. Set him and Mr. Platt to work on a practical proposition of finance, legislation or statesmanship, and I believe he would not be greatly the superior of the two. So far as I can understand, Mr. Platt's lineage is as good as Mr. Choate's; his literary pursuits have been as broad; his study of and experience in large and important affairs have been infinitely more extended; and his natural gifts and intuitions are as generous and correct.

Let me ask you, then, in what you may do for your own friend, to see to it that no one is allowed to unfairly and unjustly and indecently attack one

whose only ambition now is to serve his State and his fellowmen, as he sees the right, and who wishes at no distant day to go off the field on horseback in a manly way, and not be driven off by those who would like to see him walk off, covered with the slime of scandal and disgrace.

Respectfully and sincerely yours,

I. S. Catlin.

To the Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs.

DR. STORRS CONFESSES HIS IGNORANCE

After over two weeks, the Rev. Dr. Storrs replied to General Catlin's letter in this way:

30 Pierrepont St., Brooklyn, N. Y.
January 7, 1897.

Dear General Catlin:

Yours of December 24th came to me when I was exceedingly occupied with other matters, not to be put aside or postponed. And my reply to it has been thus delayed. I have read it with great interest and thank you for it. *I have never had the smallest personal knowledge of the man of whom you have written, have never assailed him personally,* and am glad to know that he has the friendship of men like yourself. But I regard the relation which he seems plainly to hold to the Republican party in the State as evil and irrational in itself, and fraught with vast danger for the future. I do not suppose that the resist-

ance of men who think as I do, to his election as Senator, will have special weight with such a Legislature as that now assembled at Albany. But I feel bound to exert whatever influence I have, private or public, for the election of one whom I deem in every way abler, nobler, more worthy of the high office, and certain to reflect higher honor on the State, and to advance more surely the national welfare. I shall deeply regret the choice of the other, and shall be glad to have done whatever I honorably could do to prevent it.

Accept my hearty thanks for the bound pamphlet containing the services at the dedication of the "Soldiers' Monument" at Owego. I have read with special interest your eloquent address, and am greatly indebted to you for it.

Ever faithfully yours,

R. S. Storrs.

"TO THE NATION'S HEROES AND MARTYRS"

The pamphlet to which General Catlin and the Rev. Dr. Storrs both refer contained the details of the dedication of a handsome shaft at Owego, which bore the script: "To her heroes who fought, and her martyrs who fell, that the nation might live."

General Benjamin F. Tracy, who, as well as General Catlin, achieved distinction during the War of the Rebellion, delivered an address. I had the honor of being the president of the day. The

speech I delivered is suggested in the Catlin-Storrs correspondence. I have been asked to quote extracts from it. Here are some of them:

We are here to testify that in our belief the debt we owe the boys who wore the blue, never has been, and never can be, entirely paid as long as one of them remains to tell the story. And Tioga County tells to all the land to-day, in this memorial which she rears to the memory of her sons, that the gratitude which she felt for the soldier from 1861 to 1865 is just as keen and appreciative now as it was in the darkest hours of danger. And may her name perish and be forgotten among men, if she forgets the obligation she owes to the soldier, living or dead.

As I look upon the soldiers around me to-day, my memory is carried back to the most tremendous battle of the war, twenty-eight years ago, when a quarter of a million of the bravest soldiers that the world ever saw were locked in the embrace of death. All the previous days, the struggle raged from Round Top to Culp's Hill; and over the field of carnage the grass was red with the blood of the slain. The morning of July 4th dawned, and the fate of the nation was trembling in the balance. Scarcely a battle of modern times has furnished such a record of carnage and disaster. No foreign foe was to be met, but on either side was the flower of the Saxon race. The fight was renewed. The sun sank down in the west

that evening, and under the shadows of night the grand army of Lee, all shattered and torn, reeled back across the Potomac, never to set foot on Northern soil again. And the Republic was saved!

It is our happiness to-day to know that among the brave soldiers Tioga sent to the war, there are those who have returned to us crowned with immortal honor; men who have been tried in every station, weighed in the balance, and never found wanting. Happy indeed are we to have them with us to-day, to fill the hearts of our old men with gladness at the renewal of the associations of the past, and to inspire the hearts of our young men to emulate their example, and to teach them, if they ever hope to have their names inscribed upon the golden roll, they can only secure that honor by standing steadfastly for the truth, unfalteringly for the right, and proving themselves worthy of the grand old Tioga County stock from which they sprang.

It will not be necessary for me to give an extended introduction to either of the speakers of the day, for probably there is not a man in Tioga County as well known as General Tracy. All the old men know him; all the old ladies reverence him, and all the young ladies are proud of his acquaintance. We are all happy to have him with us on this auspicious occasion, and to bid him a thousand welcomes to his old home. Yet he returns to us, not as an old shattered wreck, not

bowed with age and worn with toil, but as full of life and youthful vigor as when thirty years ago he marched at the head of our brave Tioga County boys. Yet he returns to us, not simply as the gallant soldier, the loved and honored citizen of Tioga County, but as one of the central figures of the grandest Republic of the globe. Faithful in every position to which he has been called, whether as attorney, legislator, soldier or judge, when asked for further service he might well have exclaimed: "I have done my share."

Yet when the United States was about to assume the most arduous task it has ever undertaken since the foundation of the Government, the creation of a new navy, which is once more to give us the supremacy of the sea, it was Tioga's honored son that she called to her aid. And if God spares his life, before the present generation has passed away we will once more behold the old flag floating on every sea, from the rising to the setting of the sun.

Neither will it be necessary to introduce to a Tioga County audience the war-worn veteran who sits beside me, General Isaac S. Catlin. How our hearts sank within us when the news flashed over the wires that our friend and brother had fallen in the shock of the battle, and was cruelly maimed, was wavering in the gates of death. Thank God, he is with us to-day to tell us how the Republic was saved!

It now becomes my pleasant duty, on behalf

of the citizens of Tioga County, and of the Board of Supervisors and their successors who are to be guardians and custodians of this sacred trust, to receive this memorial monument from your committee, and consecrate it to our soldier dead. Your committee has performed its work nobly and well, and you, gentlemen of the Board of Supervisors, have richly earned the grateful thanks of your fellow citizens for the admirable manner in which you have executed your trust.

Here may it stand for ages, no less a monument to the brave soldiers who died, than an evidence of the patriotic zeal and love of the men who raised it. Here may it stand for all time, guarded by filial reverence and affection, teaching our young men to stand by the flag and to live and to die if need be for the preservation of the Union. The time has come when it seems eminently proper we should cover with a mantle of forgetfulness the sufferings and sacrifices of the past. But with the broadest exercise of Christian charity, let us not forget in the contest of the past that there was a wrong side, and there was a right side, and that the soldiers whose memory this shaft is to perpetuate died for the cause of the right. And so, in God's name, we dedicate this monument to the right and to the Union forevermore.

ONLY SEVEN VOTES AGAINST ME

Out of the Brooklyn and Buffalo meetings came the formation of a committee to defeat me for

the Senate. It was headed by William D. Guthrie, Paul D. Cravath, Edward Mitchell and William Brookfield, of the New York Union League Club; and Senators Frank D. Pavey, of New York, and George W. Brush, of Brooklyn. They established headquarters at Albany early in January.

My career was raked from beginning to end. But when the Republican caucus met, Choate got just 7 votes, while I had to be content with 142.

I confess that one of the keenest disappointments of my life has been that I should not have had a unanimous vote in the Republican caucus. For a long time I could not conceal my mortification that there should have been the slightest opposition to my reëlection. This was somewhat softened, however, when the Republicans unanimously supported me in the joint Legislative convention, against David B. Hill, who got only 31 votes, the other two Democratic votes being cast for Henry George.

"AS HILL WALKED OUT I WALKED IN."

It afforded me the supremest satisfaction, and not a little amusement, to step into the Senate seat of a man who had ousted me from a comparatively small office, merely to gratify his partisan spleen. As Hill walked out of the U. S. Senate, I walked in. Hill never returned. I did.

I was much touched when, a few days after my second election to the Senate, five hundred

devoted Republicans made me their guest of honor at a dinner at Albany. I expressed my appreciation of the compliment in the following speech:

MY GRATITUDE IN SPEECH

It is not without hesitation that I have again accepted the responsibilities of public office. Indeed, it seemed as though the temptation to do so had been put by, and that the remainder of my life would have no other relations to public affairs than such as become every citizen. Nor could the situation have arisen in which I should have sought even so high an honor as the one just conferred. I shall be acquitted, I think, of any affectation about office-seeking and office-holding, but it is a fact that I have not been a candidate for the Senate. I have not asked any member of the Legislature to vote for me. I did not even intimate until after the caucus that I should accept the office if it were tendered. That it has come under these circumstances, and with such generous expressions of good will and confidence from Republicans throughout the State, makes it a pleasing burden and a rich compensation for all that I have done and tried to do in my party's service. And so I shall go to Washington grateful to the Republican party, devoted to the State of New York, and earnest in the resolution to exert whatever influence I may have or may acquire for the welfare of our incomparable country.

It is especially gratifying to reënter the Senate coincidentally with the inauguration of a Republican President. The support given by the State of New York to Major McKinley's candidacy abundantly testifies to the high hopes which our people base on his patriotic wisdom. The success of his administration will be the success of the Republican party, and no contribution that I can make to that great cause will be wanting.

Sufficient time has passed since the November election to permit a close examination of its results. It cannot be said that they are wholly satisfactory. The bewildering program of legislation proposed by Mr. Bryan obtained so great a popular support as to forbid the idea that agitation in its favor will be abandoned, and our Democratic friends, who, without giving unqualified adhesion to Republican principles, were, nevertheless, constrained by their convictions on the money question to support the Republican candidates, should give sober consideration to this fact. It is not yet certain that any plan for the relief of the Treasury can pass the Senate as it will be constituted after the fourth of March. Capital will not invest, production will not increase, labor will not be adequately employed until laws are passed to insure the Treasury against insolvency, and to guarantee to the business interests of the country a safe and reasonably permanent basis on which to operate. If the changes in the composition of the Senate now in progress fail to produce a ma-

jority that can hold together for the enactment of such legislation, we shall have the same fight out of which we have just come to make again four years from now, under probably less favorable conditions.

The lesson which this possibly teaches to the Sound Money Democrats, and the duty it enforces upon them, seem entirely clear. They can find no home in the Democratic party. Their presence there is not wanted, whereas with us it is held in just esteem. They must come into the Republican party, exert their due influence upon its politics and accept their share of the responsibility for its work. And without abandoning any vital principles, which they would not ask or expect, we must seek in all we do to hold their confidence and support.

People do not agitate themselves over theories of finance when they are getting along comfortably. The clamor for the free coinage of silver became serious only when an ill-considered tariff measure threw the business of the country into confusion and left the Treasury without an income sufficient to meet its inevitable expenditures. It was then that capital withdrew from investment. It was then that production was checked, that wages were reduced, that profits and earnings fell off, that labor was thrown out of employment, and that the people began to lend an ear to the theorists who told them that there was something the matter with their dollars. It was not in human

nature for those who had enacted this mistaken law to admit it to be the origin of the troubles which at once came upon the country, and they cast about for other causes. One of these they found in the greenback, and they fell to abusing that useful feature of the currency with especial bitterness. It may be that the greenback is not an ideal form in which to express a public debt, or to supply the people with a substitute for money, and it certainly is true that no substitute for money should be legal tender. But it was not the greenback that caused the demand for gold, nor was it the greenback that shut down mills and reduced the opportunities of labor and the earnings of investment. It was the Wilson Tariff law which did these things, and there would have been just as much gold to raise and just as much trouble raising it had the burden fallen on the banks instead of on the Treasury, and even then there would have been an enormous Treasury deficit. The trouble came with the revenue law, and the remedy is to be provided in the same way. No legislation is now necessary for the maintenance of the gold standard, and when we have replenished the Treasury, restored the public credit and set the country's industries again on their feet, there will be time enough to look after the legal tenders and to revise our no doubt disordered currency system.

There can be no pretense that the American people do not desire to return to the protective policy.

They gave a much heavier majority in 1894 against the Wilson Bill than in 1896 against all the combined vagaries of Bryanism. The question is not whether they can adapt themselves to a system of production which must be based on a lower standard of wages than heretofore prevailed. They do not want to adapt themselves to such a system. The question is not whether revenues can be provided sufficient to meet the Government's necessities by patching up the Wilson Bill with new internal taxes. The people do not want the Wilson Bill patched up. They want it repealed. The demand, to which the election of two successive Republican majorities in the House of Representatives sufficiently testifies, is for the enactment of an intelligent and consistent tariff, based in every schedule upon the principle of preventing the foreign producer of goods that compete with American goods from wholesaling his wares in the American market at prices which compel the American maker of such wares either to go out of business or to reduce the wages he pays to his labor.

If there is no other respect in which the country is to be congratulated upon the result of Mr. Cleveland's administration, it may be admitted that since the present Secretary of State assumed the direction of our foreign affairs, the position of our country abroad has improved. It has been demonstrated again that the consistent upholding of American interests in foreign lands does not

necessarily involve disagreeable relations with foreign governments, and that the just influence of our country can be preserved without offense to our neighbors. I have had no fair opportunity to examine the text of the arbitration treaty, or to consider the possibilities that may arise under its various provisions, but with the principle involved it seems as though all civilized men must be sympathetic. A war with England would be unspeakably wrong, and it ought to be rendered impossible. [The Venezuela dispute was then at issue.] Indeed, as a matter of fact, there is nothing in our situation to call for a war with anybody. The cause of liberty is always noble. It always deserves to succeed. I look to see the time when the people of every American country will govern themselves without theoretical or other interference from any European sovereignty, and the attitude of our people is bound to be one of friendly interest whenever the American subjects of a foreign power decide that the time has come for them to establish a free and independent American State. The attitude of our Government, however, cannot always express the sympathies of our people. It has its treaties to observe and its code of public law to respect. Acts of intervention, moreover, involve responsibilities, and these must be assumed with caution. We neither wish to govern Cuba nor to fight Spain, and no act of Government should be performed that leads us in the direction of either of these enterprises.

It is a long while, Mr. Chairman, since such a celebration as this was possible. It is a long while since a Republican Governor of New York, a Republican Lieutenant-Governor, a Republican Speaker of the Assembly, a full line of Republican State offices, a Republican United States Senator, and so great a body of Republican officials from the counties and municipalities of the State, could assemble at a public banquet. Four years ago the thought of to-night's festival would have seemed absurd. Let us take care that for years hence it shall have no such seeming. Let us prove ourselves competent and honest and truly representative of the hopes and impulses of the people.

It was my duty and delight to support the Dingley tariff and all other Republican measures drawn to repeal ruinous Democratic legislation enacting during the Cleveland administration. I trust that Congress will never wipe out the cardinal features of the Dingley act.

MRS. PLATT'S VIEW OF POLITICS

To no one was my return to the Senate more pleasing than to Mrs. Platt. She had the year before been the determinating influence in causing me to decline a nomination for Governor. As I have observed, the solicitations of enemies that I run for that office were quite sufficient to induce me to abjure it.

My wife accompanied me to the national capital, and continued to be my companion and counselor.

Once, during a reception to the wife of a brother U. S. Senator, in Washington, each lady was asked to tell how she felt about the prominence that came to her because her husband happened to be elevated to high office.

When it came Mrs. Platt's turn, she modestly testified: "I object to having it said that I am 'in politics.' I frankly confess that I admire Mr. Platt's political acumen, and often offer him a few suggestions. But I never take politics seriously. I regard it rather as a recreation and amusement, just as other women enjoy embroidery, riding or driving."

WHY TRACY, NOT LOW, WAS NAMED FOR MAYOR

I have never made a defense of the position I assumed in 1897, at the organization of the government of the newly created Greater City of New York, in respect of the Mayoralty nomination, and for several reasons. In the first place, self-defense in politics is rarely profitable. It only opens the door to new forms of misrepresentation and attack. In the next place, the time has never seemed to be ripe for it, and I don't know that it is ripe yet. But the events of 1897 have their place in these recollections, and I shall try to state the considerations that led me to oppose the Republican organization's surrender to the

Citizens' Union, and why I urged my friend, General Benjamin F. Tracy, to take the Republican nomination.

I had, of course, the same respect for Dr. Low's character as a man and for his position as a citizen that every one else had. But his talents as an administrator were to be judged only by his career in Brooklyn, and I did not rate them high. Nor, judging from our experience with him then, and from his position in the Blaine campaign, and from the free-tradish remarks that had been attributed to him during the Cleveland administration, would I have thought that his election to be Mayor of New York, even as a Republican, and by votes that the Republican party could muster, would be of distinct party advantage. At the same time, if he had desired to take the field as a Republican, with thereafter any other nominations and any other support that were obtainable, I should have put nothing in the way of it. I caused that fact to be conveyed to him, or at least stated it to many of his friends who called on me in the interest of his nomination.

But the main consideration with me in that, as in all other matters during the whole period of my activity in politics, was what I considered to be the welfare of the Republican party, which I have never discriminated from the welfare of the State and the nation. I knew that Tammany government was pretty bad government, but I did not expect to see the millennium come with Low any

more than it had with Strong, or any of the well-meaning gentlemen who have started in at one time or another to reform New York; and I regarded the maintenance of a condition of the public mind from which could be obtained new Republican victories in the State as more important than the defeat of Tammany under conditions which, to my mind, would be sure to result in a Republican defeat in the Gubernatorial election the next year.

CONTEMPT FOR LOW NON-PARTISANSHIP

For the doctrine of non-partisanship in local elections I had the sincerest and the profoundest contempt. I used to be amused at the that-settles-it air with which the question would be plumped at me: "What has a man's views of the tariff to do with his capacity to give to the people of New York City an honest and business-like administration?"—as though my agreement that they had nothing to do with that matter involved a concession to the principle of local non-partisanship. It has everything to do with a man's ability to administer government, anywhere in the North or West, whether the influences about him are Republican or Democratic; and so strong is the predisposition of the American people in favor of a party as a political agent, and so strong is their prejudice against multiplicity of parties, and so similar are the problems of administration, no matter what the political division to which they

relate, that it is idle to attempt to create municipal parties or factions. The success of such attempt would have a demoralizing effect on party organization.

I could see no reason why a party which with the highest success was conducting a national government, and with at least distinguished success the government at Albany, should be dismayed at any problem of municipal government, and although I was willing to recognize the fact that we were a minority here in New York City, sadly inferior in point of numbers, by making all reasonable concessions to that sentiment which, sharing with us an opposition to Tammany Hall, was not otherwise Republican, I was not willing to put the Republican organization behind a man who, in advance, repudiated all obligation to the Republican party. I did not want to see the Republican party accept responsibility without having some voice in deciding what it would have to stand for. I did not want to see Mr. Low go into the great and powerful office of Mayor of Greater New York, with the work of consolidation before him, with no other influences about him than those of men, some of whom had impressed me as humbugs, some as cranks, and all as lacking in political experience, and as generally hostile to the Republican party, and as sure to create such a friction between the city administration and the State Legislature as would weaken us in the year when we had a Governor to elect, a political off-year

when we could least afford to have our strength impaired.

CITIZENS' UNION BULLIES

Then, again, I did not like being bullied, and could not bring myself to believe that a great and powerful organization, whose coöperation with the other anti-Tammany elements was necessary to success, could under any circumstances afford to let itself be treated in the arrogant, offensive and bullying way which, from the very start, was adopted by the Citizens' Union toward their necessary Republican allies.

The Republican organization in the years from 1896 to 1900 was larger, stronger and more competent than it ever had been before or since. It had been held securely by Mr. Lauterbach against the seductions of Mr. Brookfield and the Strong administration; and with the active support of President McKinley it had been built up by Mr. Quigg, until in the fall of 1897, if an independent organization had been started on sincere and sensible lines, an anti-Tammany victory was well within sight.

I am bound to say, at the risk of his thinking it a compliment, that I don't suppose I understand a man like Mr. Fulton Cutting. Even a man who is engaged in a great and noble public work, animated by the purest motives and with no wish or thought of personal advantage, is not excused from the exercise of ordinary common sense, nor is

he justified in the view that he is the only person in whose brain arises, at least occasionally, the notion of the public welfare.

CUTTING STOPPED FUSION

Under Mr. Fulton Cutting's leadership the Citizens' Union went deliberately at work to make the coöperation of the Republican party in the election of an anti-Tammany man absolutely impossible, and it seemed to omit no single thing that was calculated to bring that result. That it represented an idea which has strength—the idea of a brave, independent, courageous citizen administering a great public office without fear or favor, may be admitted; but when the success of this idea depends on the popular vote, it should not be presented in a way that offends the sensibility of every one in whose mind there is a doubt whether the fifteen or twenty men who suddenly spring up and proclaim it are the only ones in a population of three millions who believe in good and worthy government.

LOW LENT HIMSELF TO AN ARROGANT COTERIE

The worst of it was that Dr. Low weakly put himself right under the wing of this arrogant and offensive coterie. He excused himself, or his friends excused him, by saying that if he didn't they would drop him and take up somebody else.

That may have been so, and if it had been offered to whom public service is only a public duty, en- to excuse an ambitious, self-seeking politician, one could understand it; but offered to excuse a man tered with always the greatest reluctance and only because it is thrust upon him by the overwhelm- ing demand of his fellow citizens, it seems a trifle mystifying.

M'KINLEY AGAINST LOW'S NOMINATION

Even as late in the campaign as within a week before the Republican convention, and after the Citizens' Union had called their self-appointed selves together and had nominated Dr. Low on their take-him-or-leave-him platform, we tried to save him and the situation. Mr. Quigg—I won't say with my approval, but without my objection—had a talk with Elihu Root, in which he told Mr. Root, for such purpose as Mr. Root might think it proper to put it to, that if Dr. Low, before accept- ing the Citizens' Union nomination, would wait until the Republican convention had met, and would then accept both nominations, preferably in identical terms, we would do the best we could to bring his nomination about. Nothing came of this communication, however, and neither I nor any of my advisers could see any other course to pursue than the one that was finally taken. The matter was discussed with the Republican leaders, not only in New York City, but throughout the

tate. At my suggestion Mr. Quigg went to Lake 'hamplain, where President McKinley was stoping, and in the course of an interview that lasted wo hours went over every phase of the matter ith him. I had many conferences with Mr. Bliss, nen in the President's cabinet, and with party eaders in other States whose judgment I had earned to respect, and from the President down he opinion of every Republican who had any arty responsibility was that under the circumtances we could not afford to nominate Dr. Low.

LOW A "THORN IN THE FLESH"

The final consideration with me was this—that o man can get away from his environment; that he auspices under which a man takes office, the onditions of his nomination, are bound to control is conduct in office, and that Mr. Low, brought orward by the Citizens' Union in the extraordiary way in which they got him before the pubic and into actual nomination, must, if elected, ave been a constant thorn in the flesh to the Reublican organization in both city and State. And et, by nominating him ourselves, we should have een responsible for him and for the unpopular overnment which, with his Citizens' Union suport, he would have been sure to provide. I foreaw conflicts with the Legislature, and the newsapers grinding out columns in every issue to the rejudice of the Republican party throughout the

State because the Legislature was failing to respond to the Citizens' Union idea of municipal laws. I judged what his ideas of municipal laws would be by what his idea was of the way to organize a city government. I thought at the best we would have a hard time to elect a Republican Governor in 1898. Already the canal appropriations were giving us trouble; the frictions between Governor Black and some of the State leaders were a source of anxiety; and I knew that if Senator Murphy and Mr. Croker yielded to the more astute leadership of ex-Governor Hill (which, luckily, they didn't), we should have on our hands the fight of our lives, with nothing to depend on except the popularity of President McKinley and the issues of the Spanish War.

Of course it will be asked, and I can hear the tone of mild rebuke: "Had the interests of the city of New York no weight in the consideration of those who thus assumed responsibility for a new period of Tammany government?" Yes, they had; but, as I understand it, New York City is still a part of New York State, and just as much interested in a continuance of the wise and successful administration of State affairs as any other part of the State.

An anti-Tammany victory in New York, moreover, is a chance victory, and has never resulted in the real and permanent betterment of things for that reason. The Democratic majority in New York City is so large, so stolid, made up of ele-

ments so difficult to reach and to convince, that an occasional victory on the part of Republican and other forces has been found to accomplish little. The importance of even that little I admit, and I can easily see that if a Republican Mayor could be elected as a Republican, and could have a strong, united party behind him, so that in the course of a four years' administration he could build up the party and its organization, and thus bring about his own reëlection or the election of another who would continue his good administration, it would be possible in the course of time thoroughly to reorganize and reform the local departments.

NO POLITICAL HYBRIDS TO BE TOLERATED

But, elected as a political hybrid, with the well-to-do, easy-going, thoughtless aristocrats, organized in some independent guise, pulling in one direction, with such bodies as the City Club pulling in another, with the Republican organization pulling in still another, and such fag-ends as the Jimmy O'Briens, the Stecklers and the Sheehans, with their demands and distractions to plague and pursue him; selected for his social position or his standing as a banker or a merchant, with little or no experience of public administration—no man alive could justify the expectations that secured for him the office of Mayor of New York City, and the prompt return of Tammany to its own is a

foregone conclusion from the day he takes office. The history of Dr. Low's administration when, with the Republican party cordially supporting him, he did manage to get the place, is only one of the several proofs that have been afforded of the truth of this statement. I know of nothing that occurred during the Low administration which should change the opinion I had concerning him in 1897. He came and went, and New York City is still the same old town, with the same old social and political problems, the same old grafters, the same body of office-holders, the same burden of debt and the same ratio of increase in its appropriations that it had when we were told that Mr. Low's election meant its emancipation from them all.

MY COURSE VINDICATED

So I guess I was right in 1897, and when the election returns came in on the night of November 8, 1898, and when, after waiting till nearly midnight before the issue was certain, I saw that Theodore Roosevelt, fresh from San Juan Hill, with the stains of Spanish blood dark on his rough-rider uniform, had squeezed through by the narrow majority of 17,000 in a total poll of more than a million and a quarter votes, I breathed a sigh of relief to think that I had not taken the responsibility of loading him down with the Citizens' Union.

CHAPTER XVIII

1898-1900

Why I selected Roosevelt for Governor—His embarrassing threat to withdraw, and how at the crucial moment I prevented it—The Hero of San Juan was not "a coward"—Brief review of the Roosevelt State administration.

"STARCHLESS" civil service, which put practically every Democratic office-holder out and installed a Republican organization man in his job; the appointment of Louis F. Payn as Superintendent of Insurance, and other ultra-partisan acts of the Black administration, while they popularized it with the organization workers, aroused rebellion among the Independents. Black, offering no apologies for running a simon-pure party régime, planned a renomination and secretly nursed a hope that he would land the Presidency.

The initial movement toward curbing the Black methods for surbordinating the State government to the interests of the regular troops, developed when the so-called Independents, led by the Union League Club, put forward Joseph H. Choate against me as a candidate for U. S. Senator. Independent threats caused me to do a heap of

thinking. Cognizant of the revolts which sent Judge Folger to a political grave, deprived Blaine of the Presidency and placed the National and State governments in the custody of the Democrats for eight and ten years respectively, I began to formulate plans for holding our enemies in leash. At a period when few believed but that Black would be named for a second term—and this was in April of 1898—I was asked if there was the slightest doubt about the renomination of the Governor.

"Yes, there is," was my response. "McKinley and Congress are liable to declare war on Spain at any moment. That war may develop a hero. Popular sentiment may force the nomination of that hero for Governor of New York. Theodore Roosevelt has just resigned as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and is drilling his Rough Riders in the West. General Francis V. Greene and Colonel Frederick D. Grant have volunteered their services. Any one of them might come out of the war adorned with such laurels as to compel his nomination."

While division was acute among the New York leaders as to who should be the candidate for Governor, Roosevelt, covered with military glory, came back from Cuba. I sent Lemuel Ely Quigg to Montauk Point, where the colonel was camped with his spectacular troop. I requested Mr. Quigg to sound the colonel about running for Governor. Mr. Quigg found the colonel more than pleased

with the suggestion. When Quigg plumped at Roosevelt the question: "Would you accept the Republican nomination for Governor?" there was no hesitation in the answer.

Like cracks from a rifle, the gallant colonel came back with:

"Would I? I would be delighted!"

"Then count upon Senator Platt's support. Come to the Fifth Avenue Hotel and see him," was Quigg's reply.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT DID COME TO ME

Roosevelt came to the Fifth Avenue. We had a long talk. We buried past differences. He agreed to head the Republican State ticket, if nominated, and consult with me and other party leaders about appointments and legislation in case he were elected. When Colonel Roosevelt parted from me he was my choice for Governor. I set to work to nominate and elect him.

The perplexing and all but fatal incidents which happened prior to the assembling of the State convention at Saratoga in September, were described by me recently in a magazine article. I quote from it:

ROOSEVELT'S NOMINATION FOR GOVERNOR

"During the fall of 1898, the candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt for the Governorship of New York

was projected. It will be remembered that while the candidacy was in process of development, the opponents of his nomination became apprised of the fact that during a previous year, when Mr. Roosevelt was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he had sworn off his taxes in New York on the theory that he was a resident of the District of Columbia, and therefore was ineligible for the Governorship of New York State.

"Presuming that the opponents of his nomination would use this fact in the approaching State convention, to his detriment, I called a meeting of my friends at the Fifth Avenue Hotel to consider methods of meeting the expected attack upon ineligibility. Elihu Root, who recently succeeded me in the U. S. Senate, was one of those present at the meeting. So was Mr. Roosevelt.

ROOSEVELT'S INELIGIBILITY

"While this meeting was being held a committee representing the opposition to Mr. Roosevelt, headed by Edward Lauterbach, called at my rooms at the Fifth Avenue. Mr. Lauterbach, Louis F. Payn and others were in the party, and they were all earnest advocates of the renomination of Governor Black. I left the assemblage of my friends and went to meet this committee. They had with them Mr. Roosevelt's affidavit of his non-residence in the State of New York, which they asked me to read and explain how in the face of such a declara-

tion it would be possible to proceed with the plans for his Gubernatorial nomination.

Lacking any other expedient, I informed them that if they were possessed of all the facts, they would view the matter differently, and that later I hoped to apprise them of such facts. I then rejoined my friends in another room and reported to them what Mr. Lauterbach and his associates had presented for my consideration.

At this juncture, Mr. Roosevelt took me aside and said, with a trepidation I had never before and have never since seen him display: "I cannot remain in this fight; I must withdraw from the race."

His desire to withdraw was made apparent to every one in the room. The fatal effect of his withdrawal was to me so manifest, that I replied: "You must not withdraw. You must trust to me to solve the problem and elect you Governor of the State."

In order to emphasize my determination and to restore his courage, I said with brutal frankness: "Is the hero of San Juan a coward?"

He replied with his customary vehemence: "No, I am not a coward."

We then resumed the discussion of methods of procedure, and, at my suggestion, Mr. Root went to Massachusetts, where Joseph H. Choate was sojourning, in order to obtain his views in the premises. The meeting then disbanded, and was

resumed at Saratoga some days later, where the Republican State Convention was assembling.

CHOATE SAYS THE CASE IS HOPELESS

At this second meeting, there were present Mr. Root, Mr. Depew, Frank Hiscock, Judge George W. Ray, of the U. S. District Court, and others. Mr. Root reported to me that Mr. Choate had expressed the opinion that the case was hopeless, and added for himself that he had grave doubts of the possibility of making a successful contention in Mr. Roosevelt's favor. He said that Mr. Choate expressed the further opinion that the only hope of success lay in forcing the nomination through the convention by sheer weight of numbers.

I asked him if he had mentioned the matter to any one else, to which he replied that he had not done so. I asked him to refrain from doing so; told him that the plan to nominate Mr. Roosevelt must be carried through at all hazards, and he must appear before the convention and make the argument in favor of Mr. Roosevelt's nomination.

The gentlemen then addressed themselves to the task of formulating arguments that could be presented to the convention in support of Mr. Roosevelt's nomination. Judge Ray probably adduced the principal arguments upon which the following day Mr. Root made his famous speech

in support of Mr. Roosevelt's candidacy and eligibility. This task Mr. Root performed so exceedingly well that the opposition to the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt was effectually quelled. And so effective were the arguments of Mr. Root that the Democrats, in the campaign which followed, never so much as broached the subject of Mr. Roosevelt's ineligibility.

ROOSEVELT'S DRAMATIC CAMPAIGN

Roosevelt made a dramatic campaign. He fairly pranced about the State. He called a spade a "spade," a crook a "crook." During the final week of the canvass he made the issue Richard Croker, the Tammany boss, who had been so excoriated by the Lexow and Mazet committees. The Rough Rider romped home on election day with over 17,000 plurality.

I have always maintained that no man besides Roosevelt could have accomplished that feat in 1898.

The Legislature being Republican in both branches, it was easy to supplant Democratic U. S. Senator Edward Murphy, Jr., whose term expired March 4, 1899. Governor Roosevelt, Lieutenant-Governor Woodruff, State Chairman Odell and myself, united in the selection of Chauncey M. Depew. He was chosen to Murphy's seat early in January, 1899, securing the solid vote of his party associates, and finally the united sup-

port of the legislators without regard to political proclivities. Depew joined me at Washington, March 4. Then for the first time in a decade was New York represented in the U. S. Senate by two Republicans.

LOU. PAYN THROWN OUT

Upon his inauguration, Governor Roosevelt started in whirlwind fashion to clean house at Albany. He threw Superintendent of Insurance Louis F. Payn out of his job so quickly as to send that official to me with a cry: "I warned you that this fellow would soon have you dangling at his chariot wheel. You would not believe me. He has begun by scalping members of your 'Old Guard.' He'll get you, too, soon."

I agreed to the appointment of Francis Hendricks as Superintendent of Insurance, and though Seth Low recommended Colonel John N. Partridge for Superintendent of Public Works, offered no serious objection to the elevation of that man. Roosevelt had from the first agreed that he would consult me on all questions of appointments, Legislature or party policy. He religiously fulfilled this pledge, although he frequently did just what he pleased. In consulting me, Roosevelt proved himself the antithesis of Garfield, who, as I have said, repudiated every contract ever made with me. I have ever preferred that a man should tell me frankly face to

face that he will or will not do a thing, than to promise to do it and then refuse to do it. Roosevelt told me, for instance, that he proposed to remove Lou. Payn. I protested, but he was removed, and I was consulted about the appointment of his successor.

The great dispute between Roosevelt and myself came, however, when the Governor announced that corporations must pay a franchise tax, and had bills drawn providing for this. Chairman Odell, of the State Committee, and organization leaders generally, hoisted the signal of rebellion. Roosevelt clinched his fist and gritted his teeth, and drove through the legislature the franchise tax law, which, though supposed to be in operation for the past ten years, is still being fought by public utilities corporations in the courts.

Right upon the heels of the enactment of this legislation, Roosevelt made it known that he would be a candidate for renomination. I determined that he should be the candidate for Vice-President, and that Odell, who had all but been named in 1896, when there was a sudden shift to Black, should head the State ticket. How my plans were consummated will be related in another chapter. Meantime, I digress to observe that one of the most important controversies of the Congressional session of 1899, was that dealing with the question of retaining under our flag the Philippine Islands or granting their immediate independence. Being entirely irresponsible for the administration

of the Government, Bryan and other Democratic leaders kept up an incessant howl about abandoning the Filipinos after we had freed them from the Spanish yoke. I joined with President McKinley and the Republicans in insisting that American sovereignty be maintained until the "little brown men" had shown capacity for self-government.

My views were reflected in a speech delivered by me January 27, 1899, in opposition to a resolution declaring that, under the (U. S.) Constitution, no power is given to the Federal Government to acquire territory to be held and governed permanently as colonies.

I said:

DON'T SURRENDER THE PHILIPPINES

MR. PRESIDENT: I suppose I may be permitted to enjoy the same latitude of discussion and the same liberty of expression which have distinguished the remarks of other Senators during this debate. It is scarcely possible to talk to the resolution of the Senator from Missouri without saying something concerning the treaty which is being considered in executive session. Indeed, the resolution may almost be looked upon as an amendment to the treaty. If the resolution were to pass and the treaty were then to be ratified, the resolution would be nothing less than a definition of what the treaty must be understood to mean.

And in voting against the resolution, which will be my course when the occasion arrives, I desire to be understood as voting against any limitation upon the terms of the treaty.

There has never been absent from the floor of the Senate that class of intellect which has found in the Constitution its warrant for opposing new things. It has always been a superior class of intellect, without doubt earnest and sincere, but not always to be appreciated by ordinary minds that believe in finding a practical solution for practical questions as they arise one after another in the course of national experience, and that starts out in its consideration of all public questions with the assumption that the founders of our Government did not intend it to be anything less than a competent government. Nor is it new things only which are so resolutely opposed in the name of the fathers. It is old things, with new faces, as well. Here we have been for a whole century annexing territory—annexing with a club or with a caress, just as the necessities demanded—and yet Senators are discovering to one another the most acute distress over what they boldly describe as a "departure from time-honored traditions."

Mr. President, it was not the main purpose of the makers of the Constitution to point out a way in accordance with which the problems of government were to be solved. That purpose, no doubt, was in their minds to some extent, but to an ex-

tent which must have had its boundaries defined in their own experience, and even then they allowed it to appear in the Constitution with reluctance and obvious misgiving. Their main purpose was to devise a plan of government, and not to ordain policies; and where they seemed to be ordaining policies, where they departed from the main work of establishing the bodies which together should form the Government, and of distributing to each its particular functions, they were doing precisely what every other legislative assembly before their time and subsequently thereto has had to do—they were satisfying popular prejudices and looking forward to the day when their work would be passed upon by minds less trained than their own in the consideration of great principles and more subject than theirs to temporary and local prejudice.

I do not mean to suggest, Mr. President, that such legislation as does occur in the Constitution is any less binding upon us because it was put there as a concession to the sentiment of the law, but I do affirm without hesitation that the inferences which we draw now from such legislation, limiting the power of the General Government and tending to render our Government less competent than other governments, need to be drawn carefully and need to be considered in the light of the whole scheme of Federal authority. It is true that we are a Government of limited powers, but the purpose of the limitation was simply to re-

serve to the people of the States such ample power as would enable them to determine their own affairs in their own way—such affairs, I mean, as were not also the affairs of the people of other States; and it was not the purpose of such limitation to hinder the Federal Government in providing as might seem best and wisest for the general welfare of the whole country.

It is surprising, Mr. President, how often it has been necessary to make this argument and to call attention to these distinctions, and yet I suppose the temptation is a natural one to make the phrase "a government of limited powers" mean a government empowered to do whatever each man wants done, but forbidden to do whatever each man opposes. That thought must have occurred, it seems to me, to every Senator who heard the proposition advanced here that we had the right under the Constitution to annex territory for the purpose of putting up guns to kill people with, but lacked the right of annexing it for the purpose of putting up schoolhouses and of doing the things that contribute to the happiness and prosperity of the people concerned.

The disorder now existing in the Philippine Islands, to which Senators who are opposing the treaty may well afford to consider how far they are contributing, the unwillingness of the armed natives to accept American authority, does not constitute, in my mind, the slightest ground on which to base a vote against the Paris agreement.

On the contrary, it affords a new reason why our action should be the more prompt and unanimous. No Senator has had the hardihood to suggest that we shall now return these islands to the Spanish Government, and no other disposition of them than that is inconsistent with a vote to confirm the treaty. Imputations have been made here upon the purposes of those who advocate the assumption by the United States of Philippine sovereignty which can scarcely be genuine.

All this talk about forcing our Government upon an unwilling people, all this eloquent invocation of the spirit of the Declaration of Independence, is far and away from any real point that concerns the Senate in this discussion. No Senator can suppose that there exists an American statesman who approaches the consideration of the Philippine problem with any other than the most benevolent intentions concerning the Filipinos and their future. There are reasons why the natives of these islands, after their experience with Spanish misrule, should misunderstand the presence at Manila of an American army, but there is no reason why an American Senator should misunderstand it, and no justification of his course in misrepresenting it. He knows that there is no American in all this broad land who wishes any other fate to any single native of the Philippine Islands than his free enjoyment of a prosperous life.

He knows that close in the wake of American

rule there would come to the Filipinos a liberty that they have never known and a far greater liberty than they could ever have under the arrogant rule of a native dictator. He knows, moreover, that it would be self-rule, the rule of the islanders to the full extent of their capacity in that direction, and that each successive American President would welcome the time when he could recommend new leases of self-government to an advancing and improving people. The Filipinos may not know these things yet, but every American Senator knows them, and puts himself and his country in a false position when, by attributing the spirit of conquest and aggression to those whose policy has rescued the Filipinos from Spain and would now rescue them from native tyrants, he encourages them to doubt the generous sentiment of our people.

I do not say that these considerations are absolutely conclusive of our right and duty to assume the direct and exclusive government of the Philippines, for we have our own interests to think about, but certainly they forbid the use on this floor of any argument which tends to imperil the safety of our troops at Manila or which adds one whit to the embarrassment of the administration in the trying situation by which it is confronted.

Mr. President, I do not know, and I do not think any one else can know, just what ought to be done with the Philippine Islands, beyond this—

that we ought, as instantly as possible, to complete the withdrawal of their sovereignty from the Kingdom of Spain, and that we ought ourselves to assume its obligations and prudently to discharge them until we have had full opportunity in our own councils to determine their best disposition. This is all that the treaty of Paris proposes or imposes. It is all that the administration has at any time suggested. It is no more than a safe and conservative policy advises. It is no less than our public obligations require. It is a plain, clear, positive duty. It is one of those duties that are not to be got rid of by evasion, nor even by denial. It would remain after you had rejected the treaty. It lies in the nature of the situation. Your army, your navy, and your flag are at Manila. You can add to their dangers if you will. But their duty abides, and the will of the nation must be done.

CHAPTER XIX

1900-1901

My motives in making Roosevelt Vice-President —How a "pinch" made him President— "Kicked up," not "down stairs"—Murder of McKinley, the "best beloved President"— My method of dealing with anarchist assassins—How Roosevelt fulfilled the oath taken at McKinley's bier.

I MIGHT be accused of telling tales out of school should I divulge the details of the campaign entirely; but I will say that as the time approached for holding the Republican National Convention at Philadelphia, in 1900, it became apparent that the administration forces, headed by Senator Hanna, would oppose the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt for the Vice-Presidency. I believed that the death of Vice-President Hobart had weakened the Republican party, and that some strong, popular personality should be added to the ticket to be nominated in 1900; and I firmly believed that the virile personality of Mr. Roosevelt, supported by his war record in Cuba and by his administrative record as Governor of New York, would add great strength to the national ticket that year.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Frederick S. Gibbs was the member of the National Committee from New York State. He also was a member of the Executive Committee, and in that capacity went to Philadelphia a week or two in advance of the gathering of the convention, where the National Committee was to give hearings to contesting delegations. I think it was a week prior to the meeting of the National Convention that Mr. Gibbs called on the telephone one of my friends in New York, and asked him to tell me that the great majority of the National Committee, headed by Senator Hanna, was shaping things to bring about the nomination of Cornelius N. Bliss for Vice-President. Mr. Gibbs evidently had the impression that this could be brought about, and as he knew my firm belief that Roosevelt should be a candidate, he thought it wise to let me know about it. The word that he brought was that I ought to get in touch with members of the National Committee, then in Philadelphia, with a view to heading off this sentiment, which was developing as the hearing of the contests proceeded. I was so confident of what would be the outcome of the convention, that I replied to the one who brought Mr. Gibbs' message that I would not take the trouble to call him or any other member of the National Committee on the telephone, because he was unduly exercised, and nothing was more certain in my mind than that Mr. Roosevelt would be the Vice-Presidential candidate.

I BREAK A RIB AS BATTLE BEGINS

I went to Philadelphia on the Saturday following, firmly imbued with this belief and resolved to exert myself to the utmost to accomplish such a result. My resources were somewhat reduced by the fact that on the afternoon upon which I left for Philadelphia, an accident had resulted in my breaking a rib. Notwithstanding this disability, I took the train for Philadelphia, accompanied by Mr. Roosevelt, Mr. Depew and Mr. Odell. Upon reaching Philadelphia I was promptly interviewed by the late Senator Quay, who believed as I did that the nomination of Mr. Roosevelt for Vice-President of the United States was a party necessity. We agreed to combine our forces for the accomplishment of this end; but since we were greatly outnumbered by the administration forces, some strategical operations were deemed advisable in order to demoralize and, if possible, disorganize the administration opposition to our plan. Accordingly, Mr. Quay let it become known that he intended, upon the assembling of the convention, to offer a resolution reducing the representation in convention of certain Southern States upon the basis of the voting population. A large measure of the strength of the opposition lay in the South, and the proposition of Senator Quay created great consternation in the administration forces.

While they were engaged in efforts to combat

such diminution of their strength, we were busily concentrating the votes of the New York and Pennsylvania delegations and such other delegations as were uncommitted upon the Vice-Presidency. Senator Quay's task was easier than mine, for the reason that the Pennsylvania delegation was a practical unit upon the proposition, while that of New York was divided—first, by the unalterable opposition of Mr. Roosevelt himself to his nomination, and second, by the aggressive candidacy of Timothy L. Woodruff, of Brooklyn.

ROOSEVELT TELLS PAPERS HE WILL NOT RUN

It is hardly worth while to elaborate the incidents of the first few days of the canvass, because they were overshadowed by two or three occurrences of the greatest significance and importance, which followed in close succession during the few hours immediately preceding the meeting of the convention. The Roosevelt sentiment was gradually developing strength, and Mr. Quay and I were becoming greatly encouraged, when, on the afternoon before the convention met, General Francis V. Greene, a close friend of Mr. Roosevelt, and himself a passive candidate for the nomination, came to my room for the purpose of dissuading me from further effort in Mr. Roosevelt's behalf. I resisted his arguments until he startled me by saying that Mr. Roosevelt had a few moments previously given to the newspapers an interview, in

which he stated positively that he would not accept the nomination—that his closest and most valued friends had advised against his being a candidate, and he had definitely made up his mind not to be.

At this juncture, Senator Penrose, of Pennsylvania, accompanied by John P. Elkin, of that State, entered my room and announced that the Pennsylvania delegation had just caucused and had voted with practical unanimity to support Mr. Roosevelt for the Vice-Presidency. I pointed to General Greene and said:

"This gentleman, who is a close friend of Governor Roosevelt, has just informed me that the Governor has given to the newspapers a statement to the effect that he will not accept a Vice-Presidential nomination."

Senator Penrose said: "He had better go back to the Governor and tell him it is high time he learned who his real friends are."

That night the New York delegation held its caucus. I was unable to attend, owing to my injury.

HANNA CAPITULATES; ROOSEVELT STILL PROTESTS

While the caucus was taking place, I sent my secretary to Senator Hanna, asking him to visit me in my parlor. Senator Hanna responded to the call, and we two alone discussed the situation. At first, Senator Hanna obdurately opposed my

efforts to convince him of the party necessity of nominating Mr. Roosevelt; but finally I won him over to my idea, and he left my room promising to issue that night a public statement that, in his judgment, Mr. Roosevelt should be the candidate of the convention. This promise he faithfully kept, and from that moment the nomination was assured.

Meantime, Governor Roosevelt was in his rooms protesting to everybody that he would, if nominated for Vice-President, arise in the convention and unequivocally decline. I heard of this, and asked my son Frank to go in to him and say that he would be nominated; that he could not stop that, and I wanted his promise that if he were made McKinley's associate he would run.

Roosevelt and my son soon came to my rooms. The Governor was in a state of rare excitement, even for him.

"YOU CANNOT BE RENOMINATED, GOVERNOR"

"I shall go into the New York caucus and tell the delegates that I shall, if nominated for Vice-President, arise in the convention and decline. I can serve you, Senator Platt, far better as Governor than as Vice-President," said Roosevelt pugnaciously.

"But you cannot be renominated for Governor; and you are going to be nominated for Vice-President," was my retort.

"I cannot be renominated?" queried Roosevelt.

"No; your successor is in this room?" said I, pointing to Chairman Odell.

"Now I want your promise, that if you are indorsed by the New York caucus, you will not refuse, and that, if you are nominated by the convention, you will run," I added.

Roosevelt showed his teeth, paced up and down the room, and chafed as a horse does under a tight rein and curbed bit.

"Well, Senator Platt," finally returned Roosevelt reluctantly, "I will pledge myself not to formally decline the New York caucus indorsement, but I shall certainly urge the caucus to name another," he added.

"And remember I shall pinch you if I see any signs of your getting up and declining," put in my son.

"PINCH AS HARD AS YOU LIKE"

"All right, you may pinch me as hard as you like," answered Roosevelt, as he and Frank hurried to the caucus of the New York delegation, then in progress on the main floor of the Hotel Walton.

The session was a long and rather heated one. Some of the delegates used very plain English to Governor Roosevelt. One of the most forceful speeches was made by Edward Lauterbach. Rising and advancing to the front row of delegates, where Mr. Roosevelt was seated, Mr. Lauterbach,

emphasizing his remarks by gestures almost in Mr. Roosevelt's face, said to him: "Your very presence at this convention as a delegate-at-large is an allurement to the convention to nominate you. You come here, and moving among the delegates, associating with your old friends from the West, and for that matter in all parts of the country, with the glamor of the Spanish War resting on you, you tempt the delegates to support you and make you the candidate, regardless of what you may say as to your wishes in the matter."

While he was speaking, many will remember the elevator in the Walton Hotel suddenly fell with a loud crash. This interrupted the speech and caused confusion for a few minutes. As soon as order was restored, Mr. Lauterbach relieved the tension by the jocose remark: "I brought down the house, anyhow."

Senator Depew was presiding, and at length Mr. Roosevelt arose and addressed him. He reiterated in most emphatic terms his statement that he was not a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and his associates from New York must respect his wishes, and neither work among the delegates to bring about his nomination, nor present his name to the convention for that office.

THE PINCH THAT MADE A PRESIDENT

Just as Dr. Albert Shaw, Frederick W. Holls, Nicholas Murray Butler, and others of Roosevelt's

self-constituted friends, clustered about him and whispered audibly: "Say you'll decline if nominated, Governor," my son pinched Roosevelt in the leg and said: "Remember your contract with the Senator, Governor."

Roosevelt kept faith. He ignored the solicitations of Shaw and the others and sat down. In other words, a "pinch" may be said to have made Roosevelt President, for had he executed the threat of declining and it had been accepted, he would never have reached the White House. Former Senator Elon R. Brown, of Jefferson; Judge Leslie W. Russell, of St. Lawrence; Congressman George E. Waldo, of Brooklyn; and ex-Senator George B. Sloan, of Oswego, were among those who spoke. Senator Brown and Mr. Sloan and Mr. Russell, in dignified and forceful language, said that Mr. Roosevelt's wishes ought to be respected and the Vice-Presidency should not be forced upon him against his expressed desire. Several of the speakers favored the candidacy of Timothy L. Woodruff. The discussion lasted for about two hours. At length a motion was made and carried without dissenting voice that the delegation support Lieutenant-Governor Timothy L. Woodruff as New York's candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and the meeting adjourned with that as its only action.

ROOSEVELT CONCLUDES TO ACCEPT

About the same time that the announcement of New York's action was made to the delegates scattered throughout the hotel corridors and in the small rooms upstairs, came the statement from Senator Hanna that, in his opinion, Mr. Roosevelt should be the candidate for Vice-President, and that he would work to his utmost to bring about his nomination. The events of the next day showed that Mr. Hanna had accurately gaged the situation. Mr. Woodruff withdrew his name from the consideration of the New York delegates, when it became known that Mr. Roosevelt would accept.

Of course, the usual spectacular effects of a convention crowd were employed in developing, drawing out and crystallizing what was actually to be the result of the convention. One of these incidents was the appearance of the entire delegation from Kansas—profusely decorated with badges—at Governor Roosevelt's headquarters. Summoning the newspaper men, in their presence it was announced to him: "Whatever might be your wishes, ambition or final decision, this delegation proposes to vote for you at all hazards. Nothing that you could say would stop us from using all our efforts in your behalf, both in preliminaries, in the corridors and on the floor of the convention." It was on this occasion that Roosevelt caused it to be known that he would yield as gracefully as possible, if the convention

took "the bit in its teeth" and insisted upon nominating him. Such a demonstration was merely an incident, however. The nomination of Mr. Roosevelt was as certain as fate when Senator Hanna made it known to myself and to Senator Quay that he would join his forces with ours.

"PLATT DID IT"—CLARKSON

General Clarkson bears witness again: "In 1900, he (Platt) saw, as only a few others did, that the ticket would need for certain success an infusion of blood, enthusiasm and dashing courage, of the man of the new generation. He had also known since a certain day on San Juan Hill who was the man. So he set his will to the purpose of putting Roosevelt on the ticket; and it was his great personality, joined to that of Quay's, that dominated the convention into acquiescence, and persuaded Roosevelt himself into acceptance. The campaign and all the results since proved his wisdom in seeing in time that the new generation, already up in the saddle, should begin to have its way; and taking the responsibility of leadership in the vast new questions then so seriously opening up before the Republic. The critics said he was up to mischief—a marplot; the cynics, that he was seeking revenge in forcing Roosevelt on the ticket. Time has already proved that instead he was faithfully naming and presenting the leader of the new generation."

The wisdom of my insistence that Roosevelt should be McKinley's running mate was vindicated at the polls. The McKinley-Roosevelt team simply ran away from Bryan and his mate, and New York State was kept in the Republican column.

NO SHELVING INTENDED

President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University; Albert Shaw, of the *Review of Reviews;* Frederick W. Holls, and others who pretended to be Governor Roosevelt's friends at Philadelphia, were most persistent in trying to poison the Governor's mind with insinuations that my sole object in naming him for Vice-President was to politically "shelve" him.

I ignored this twaddle at the time, and I have no recollection of referring to it publicly before. I came across the answer in an editorial written by my friend, Charles H. Betts, of the Lyons *Republican,* November 22, 1900. I take pleasure in reproducing it:

ROOSEVELT IN THE CAMPAIGN

When Governor Roosevelt accepted the nomination for Vice-President, many of his friends were displeased and disappointed, and it was openly stated that his nomination for that office was simply a wicked scheme to "shelve Roosevelt." This

view, however, was presented, for the most part, by the unthinking and superficial, who were actuated more by mugwump malice than by reason. This view was also presented by those who had a very limited and a very false idea of the real Theodore Roosevelt. When any one talks about shelving Roosevelt, they simply expose their ignorance of the man. To be sure, there have been but few Vice-Presidents who ever went higher after occupying that office. But that indicates nothing, for the simple reason that no Roosevelts have ever before been nominated to that office.

No candidate for Vice-President in the whole history of this Republic ever made such a canvass in a national campaign as did Roosevelt in the campaign that has recently closed. The reason is simple. No Theodore Roosevelt was ever before nominated. When before has any Vice-Presidential candidate ever become the central figure, the leading general, the field marshal of a national political campaign? Those who thought that Roosevelt made a mistake in accepting the nomination for Vice-President will do well to remember that in the campaign just closed Governor Roosevelt has increased his prestige, power and popularity one hundred fold. Early in the campaign he became the national Republican leader who on every occasion was pitted against Bryan and who vanquished the Democratic Presidential candidate off every field. He answered all of Bryan's questions. Bryan could answer none of his. Besides all this,

Roosevelt broke all records as a campaigner. He traveled more miles, visited more States, spoke in more towns, made more speeches and addressed a larger number of people than any man who ever went on the American stump. He beat Bryan all through the campaign, and he beat him on election day. What more could he have done if he had been the candidate for President? Is it not plain that the man makes the office, not the office the man? Is it not plain that the candidate for Vice-President did not make Roosevelt, but that Roosevelt made the candidate for Vice-President the leading and central figure in one of the most important and remarkable campaigns since the foundation of the Republic? And in this connection, we wish to call attention to the fact that Senator Platt was Roosevelt's best friend. Time has proven this, and it has also vindicated Senator Platt's judgment and made his critics and enemies, who impugned his motives, look mean and small indeed.

I may add that instead of "shelving" Roosevelt, I must plead guilty to the charge of "kicking him upstairs." I believe Roosevelt himself would convict me of this.

RELATIONS WITH M'KINLEY

My relations with President McKinley were, almost from the beginning of his first administra-

tion, cordial. He never held it against me that I had honestly opposed his nomination, through the sincere conviction that Governor Morton would be more acceptable to New York and the East, and that I regarded him (McKinley) as wabbly on finance. He committed no such errors as did Garfield in refusing to accept the recommendations of the Empire State organization for Federal places in New York. Invariably when an office was to be filled, he requested that I, as chief of the organization and U. S. Senator, submit our choice. And that choice was, except in rare cases, his.

When, for instance, certain anti-machine leaders, who based their claims for recognition simply upon the ground that they had supported him for the nomination at St. Louis, while the regular organization was against it, sought to appropriate the New York patronage, President McKinley frankly told them that they must invent some better excuse than that. In spite of their arguments, he appointed George R. Bidwell Collector of the Port of New York, Cornelius Van Cott Postmaster, and named for the big offices only such men as finally had the indorsement of the dominant organization.

When he made up his mind to put Cornelius N. Bliss in as Secretary of the Interior, he sent for me and asked me if I had any objections. Though Bliss had been anything but a friend, I answered that I believed he would be an excellent cabinet

officer, and that if his appointment would restore harmony among New York Republicans, I would offer no protest. Bliss was named. For a time at least there was no friction between the wings represented by Bliss and myself.

Once in a while there were differences between us about New York appointments, but they were eventually smoothed over, and Bliss went out of the cabinet voluntarily with my benediction.

President McKinley was the most tender-hearted man I ever met in politics. He was a peace-maker rather than a fighter. Perhaps to him the cruelest act he was called upon to perform was to advise the declaration of war upon Spain in 1898. He had served with distinction in the Civil War. He told me he had seen blood and carnage enough then to satisfy him for a lifetime. His chief solicitation was about the American homes that would be wrecked and the widows and orphans that would be produced, through any official act of his. But when the hour came for him to take a decisive step, with the memory of the brave sailor boys who died aboard the *Maine* sunk deep in his heart, he did not falter. No man in this country was happier than when articles of peace were signed. And no man did more to secure to Cuba and her people the freedom for which they fought.

There was not a ripple of opposition to the renomination of President McKinley. His election was assured from the start. It could not have

been doubtful, inasmuch as his rival was again the champion of free silver and other heresies.

McKinley's second term began under most auspicious skies. He had endeared himself to all who knew him. I am inclined to agree with Senator John M. Thurston, when he wrote: "McKinley is the best-loved President since Lincoln."

ASSASSINATION OF M'KINLEY

Little did any of us dream that he would suffer the tragic fate of the great Emancipator.

As a young man I was shocked at the news of the assassination of President Lincoln. As a politician and mature man I was horrified by the murder of Garfield. I was completely dazed—appalled—when September 6, 1901, a newspaper man informed me, while at dinner, that President McKinley was shot. At first I could not credit it. I could not conceive how a man who had perhaps fewer enemies than any President we ever had would be singled out for punishment. I recall, however, that when there came the astounding, distressing, sickening message from Buffalo describing how Anarchist Czolgoscz had put a pistol to the President's heart, I exclaimed: "Had I been there, I should have forgotten there is a law against lynching." I really could not control myself. Had there been a rope handy I should have helped to hang the brute to the nearest lamppost.

NO TEMPORIZING WITH ASSASSINS

I said at the time, and I reassert it, that I do not believe in temporizing with assassins of public men. The speediest punishment should follow their crimes. The quicker the drumhead court-martial is summoned and the wretch punished to the fullest extent of the law, the better for the country and for society.

When later in the day advices indicated that the President had partially recovered from the shock, and Dr. Rixey wired he would live, I could not repress a "Thank God!" and added: "Hereafter I am a belligerent McKinleyite."

How prayerfully and tearfully we watched the bulletins telling the latest phases of the great patient's suffering! How millions of children in the nation's schools lifted their hands to Heaven and implored God to save the President to them! We hoped those prayers would be answered. But a little more than a week after his prostration, President McKinley, a smile on his lips, and whispering: "Thy will be done," passed to the above.

The entire nation was in mourning. As if to add to the tragedy of the event, Roosevelt, who had been summoned to Buffalo to immediately take the oath of office as President, was reported lost in the Adirondacks. With his proverbial luck, however, he soon emerged, and after a thrilling carriage ride of thirty miles, caught a special

train, that whisked him to the bier of his predecessor.

ROOSEVELT AS PRESIDENT

That the new President fully appreciated the deplorable circumstances under which he was elevated to the chieftainship of the nation, was manifested by him soon after he qualified. Then he issued this proclamation:

"In this hour of deep and national bereavement, I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely and without variance the policy of President McKinley, for the peace, prosperity and honor of our beloved country."

These lines did much to restore the confidence of the business community and allay the misapprehension some felt that a revolution in McKinley's conduct of the Government was threatened.

Though inclined to be spectacular, and the direct antithesis of McKinley in some methods of dealing with public problems, I desire to testify that Roosevelt kept the faith he pledged at Buffalo, September 14, 1901. He sincerely sought to follow in the footsteps of McKinley and proved himself one of our greatest Presidents. I may be pardoned if I remind my readers that but for my insistence upon his nomination for the Vice-Presidency, Roosevelt would certainly not have succeeded McKinley in 1901, and maybe he would never have been President of the United States.

HOW ROOT BECAME WAR SECRETARY

I have frequently been asked how it happened that I finally permitted Elihu Root to become Secretary of War under President McKinley. Some have regarded it as inexplicable that I should ever have allowed a man who had so many years fought me, to obtain a high cabinet portfolio while I, as a U. S. Senator, possessed the power to at least block him for a while or defeat the confirmation of his nomination. I will tell you how Root came to be Secretary of War, and with my acquiescence.

The first McKinley administration began without any understanding as to where I stood in the President's regard. I had opposed McKinley's nomination to the last. I had been instrumental in an offer to combine the field against McKinley's nomination at St. Louis. I had suggested the plan of New England being for Reed; New York for Morton; Pennsylvania for Quay; Indiana for Fairbanks; Iowa for Allison, and the various States each for a favorite son. Even when this combination broke under the terrific pounding it received from Mark A. Hanna, I did not abate my opposition to McKinley's nomination, but carried it into the convention. I was not reconciled to it even by the concession that Hanna reluctantly made of a plank in the platform, distinctly committing the Republican party to the gold standard. During the campaign, though I had been constantly consulted, it was by Quay rather

than by Hanna. The administration, as I have stated, really commenced without my knowing whether or not I was *persona non grata* at the White House.

I was not left long in suspense, however. The President made haste to consult and conciliate me. I was soon made to feel that my advice on public matters was welcome to the President, and that no New York appointments would be made without my approval.

The first test came on the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt to be Assistant Secretary of the Navy. At that time I did not feel very cordial toward Roosevelt, but when the President wanted to make the nomination, I was the medium through which that nomination reached Roosevelt. [See details in addenda.]

A severer test of my willingness to coöperate with the President came when my warm personal friend, General Russell A. Alger, having been bitterly attacked as Secretary of War, in connection with the conflict with Spain, was forced to retire from his office. The President wanted the services in this office of a great lawyer, and had fixed his mind on Elihu Root. He knew that I profoundly resented the displacement of Alger by anybody, and he knew that Root had been my consistent opponent in New York State political affairs. The President wanted to feel his way. Therefore he got some of my friends on his side before he made the communication to me that Root was to

be appointed. The President sent for Congressman Lemuel Ely Quigg, at the time president of the New York County Committee and known to be in my confidence. The President asked Quigg to find out how I would receive the suggestion of Mr. Root's appointment. Mr. Quigg saw me and made the communication. As near as I can remember I said to Quigg:

THOMAS F. RYAN CLINCHES IT

"There is room in this world for all kinds of men. Elihu Root is one of the keenest, ablest and squarest opponents that I ever have met. Personally I do not care whether or not he is Secretary of War. I won't go across the street to help him, and I won't get out of my chair to hurt him. But if anybody is going to tell Elihu Root what I guess will be welcome news to him, that he is to be Secretary of War, I want that man to be Thomas F. Ryan. So you go to Mr. Ryan and give him my compliments, and tell him that the President wants to see Mr. Root, offering the office of Secretary of War, and that he shall tell Mr. Root from whom he got his information."

I rather suspect that Mr. Ryan saw Mr. Root. Anyway, the President nominated Root, and I voted for the confirmation of his nomination. And we have been good friends ever since.

CHAPTER XX

1901

Influences that made Seth Low Mayor—Selected by my allies after a long contest in the Fusion conference—He fails to drive the Tiger out of the city government—Forgot he was a Republican—Plays the mugwump game and is forced into private life.

To Timothy L. Woodruff and Robert C. Morris, more than to any other individuals, was due the nomination and election of Seth Low for Mayor of New York in 1901.

Four-fifths of the vote cast for Low was cast by the Republicans who followed the leadership of these men, despite the fact that nearly all the other nominees on the anti-Tammany ticket were Democrats.

Morris, as president of the New York Republican County Committee, having been elected to that office by my friends, really began the anti-Tammany campaign in 1900 during the Presidential contest of that year. While performing yeoman service in behalf of McKinley and Roosevelt, the party nominees for President and Vice-President, and Odell and Woodruff, the candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Morris had

his eye constantly on a plan for the redemption of New York from Tammany misrule. Though the Presidential contest was at fever heat, President Morris frequently consulted with me about what ought to be done to drive the Tiger out of the City Hall. I so thoroughly trusted Morris that I had no hesitation in telling him to go ahead and I would stand for anything he did.

It had been demonstrated by the 1897 election returns that there was a tangible and certain anti-Tammany plurality in the city. The combined vote of Low, Citizens' Union, and Tracy, Republican, showed a plurality of about 50,000 over Van Wyck, the Tammany candidate for Mayor that year. How to unite this vote was the task to which Morris set himself.

Early in February of 1901, President Morris called the New York Republican County Committee together, and it declared for a fusion of all anti-Tammany forces. In the words of the resolution adopted, it avowed its purpose to unite "with all other organizations and associations, social or political, and with all persons, without regard to party affiliations, in efforts to elect a municipal ticket, selected without regard to partisanship and commanding public confidence."

ANTI-TAMMANY AMALGAMATION

With this, President Morris renewed efforts already begun months back to amalgamate oppo-

nents of Tammany Hall. He and Lieutenant-Governor Woodruff; National Committeeman Frederick S. Gibbs; Postmaster Cornelius Van Cott; George R. Sheldon, afterward Treasurer of the Republican National Committee; and other Greater New York leaders, were in daily consultation with me. By May the proposed Fusion movement was an entity. In that month the New York Republican Committee paid President Morris the unprecedented compliment of conferring upon him power to name a committee to confer with representatives of other anti-Tammany bodies, and take such action as he and it might deem advisable. President Morris selected Frederick S. Gibbs; Chairman William H. Ten Eyck, of the New York Republican County Executive Committee; Postmaster Cornelius Van Cott; Captain F. Norton Goddard; McDougall Hawkes; and George R. Sheldon.

Meantime, Lieutenant-Governor Woodruff was experiencing the most difficult job he had yet essayed to secure a union of anti-Tammany forces from Kings. The Croker machine in Manhattan, and the McLaughlin machine in Brooklyn, busied themselves to make it sure that every opposing force should be split into factions, and demand such returns from promoters of the Fusion program as to make it impossible for them to unite. The chief opponent of Hugh McLaughlin, the Democratic leader in Kings, was then the late Senator Michael J. Coffey. Coffey organized the

Brooklyn Democracy to down McLaughlin. When approached about joining the anti-Tammany combination for the campaign, Coffey demanded the right of naming Colonel Edward M. Knox for Mayor, the Brooklyn Borough President, and nearly every other nominee in that borough. The Citizens' Union rebelled against this and began to threaten to go it alone. The Single Taxers, led by A. J. Boulton, boomed Bird S. Coler for Mayor, and seized upon the Citizens' Union organization. The German-American Municipal Reform League boosted Charles A. Schieren for Mayor, while another for the time irreconcilable element was the German Democrats, which Otto Kempner organized into the German-American Citizens' League.

ALL-SUMMER CONFERENCES

There were many acrimonious conferences among the Kings factions. Finally Coffey was won over by the promise that J. Edward Swanstrom should be the candidate for Borough President, and the other organizations were pledged places on the county or other local tickets. Morris and Woodruff, with full authority to act for their organizations, met the other anti-Tammany organization committees May 28. R. Fulton Cutting spoke for the Citizens' Union; John C. Sheehan for the Greater New York Democracy; Lieutenant-Governor Woodruff for the Kings County Republicans; Herman Ridder for the German-

American Reform Union; Otto Kempner for the Brooklyn Citizens' League; Henry Weissman for the Brooklyn Municipal League; Benno Leowy for the Republican League; Gustav Scholer for the German-American Republican Committee; and George L. Davis for the New York Municipal League.

Conferences were held throughout the summer as to the make-up of the tickets, City, County, Legislative and Aldermanic. The attitude of the Republican organizations throughout was, that they merely desired the nomination of candidates who would, if elected, be a guarantee for honest, intelligent, economic, business-like and non-partisan government, as against a band of Tammany Hall conspirators, devoted to public plunder, and whose office-holders, to use the language of Richard Croker, the chief of Tammany, "are working for their pockets all the time."

STRIFE OVER NOMINEES

It was of course a very hard and, at times, exasperating task to solidify the various elements upon tickets. The Greater New York Democracy, for instance, insisted that only a simon-pure Democrat like John D. Crimmins, Jacob A. Cantor, John G. Carlisle, John Dewitt Warner, Charles V. Fornes or Daniel S. Lamont be named for Mayor. The Citizens' Union submitted the names of John Dewitt Warner, George L. Rives, George Foster

Peabody and Seth Low. The Germans stuck it out for Ridder, until it became apparent that he could not be chosen. The Brooklyn Democracy urged Colonel Knox. Ridder, disappointed that he could not himself be placed at the head of the ticket, concentrated his fire upon Mr. Low so effectively for a while, that the Citizens' Union finally withdrew his name. But just then Woodruff stepped in and assumed charge of the Low campaign, in conjunction with President Morris. They succeeded in weaning away from Ridder a majority of his German adherents, and on the first ballot taken for Mayor in the conference, secured for Low eleven of the eighteen votes. The Citizens' Union lined up against Low, maintaining that either Warner, Peabody or Rives should be nominated. Cutting, however, on second ballot swung his Citizens' Union followers for Low, and he was declared the nominee with unanimity, except that Mr. Ridder stood out against him.

Edward M. Grout, Democrat, of Brooklyn, and Charles V. Fornes, Democrat, of Manhattan, were made the candidates for Comptroller and President of the Board of Aldermen, respectively. Grout was really selected by Lieutenant-Governor Woodruff.

The Republican city convention, on September 24, ratified the ticket. The platform so correctly describes prevalent municipal conditions that I shall quote from it here:

TAMMANY, A BAND OF CONSPIRATORS

We arraign Tammany Hall as a band of conspirators against the public welfare; as an organization devoted to public plunder, whose office-holders, in the conduct of the public business, to use the language of their chief, "are working for their pockets all the time."

The administration of the Police Department embodies and illustrates the theory and practice of Tammany Government. License to break the law is unblushingly bought and sold, and those who are sworn to enforce the law are the agents of its subversion. The machinery designed for the administration of justice is employed to promote vice and to protect criminals, and the system of blackmail is carried so far that in many parts of the city it is not possible to conduct an honest and legitimate business, until tribute has been paid to official and unofficial blackmailers.

In the name of our candidates, we promise that if they are elected, the blackmail iniquity, which is the foulest disgrace of Tammany government, shall be rendered impossible by the complete reorganization of the Police Department. In the four years Tammany Hall has administered the Greater City of New York, the budget has been increased from seventy-seven million dollars to the enormous amount of ninety-eight million dollars; and to raise this sum by taxation, the tax rate has been annually increased, in spite of the

constant increase in the valuation of the real and personal property. How this enormous amount paid by the taxpayers has been expended by Tammany Hall, appears in the vast and ever-increasing roster of the municipal service. Thousands of places have been created in the departments, solely for the purpose of supporting Tammany workers at the public expense. Salaries have been increased without reason or excuse. Favoritism and extravagance in the purchase of supplies, and in the conduct of the public business generally, have disgraced almost every department of the city government.

The one issue in this campaign is an upright administration of municipal affairs, conceived and executed solely for the benefit of the people. It is the issue of common honesty. It is the fight of good citizenship against bad, selfish and careless citizenship. It is an issue that must abide, and a fight that must be kept up until the Tammany idea of government has been uprooted and destroyed.

With such candidates, standing upon the platform outlined, the anti-Tammany organizations began a most vigorous campaign for the release of the city from the fangs of the Tiger. Fusion on a County ticket, and Aldermanic and Legislative tickets, too, was effected.

JEROME, THE STORMY PETREL

William Travers Jerome was named for District Attorney. And he proved the stormy petrel of the canvass. Having been grossly mininformed, by whom I know not, Jerome, one night, at Lyric Hall, delivered a vituperative attack upon me. He publicly accused me of having conspired with the late William C. Whitney, and other supposed supporters of the Tammany ticket, to defeat him at the polls. There was not the slightest justification for the charge. The best answer to it, perhaps, was that the day prior to the Jerome utterance, I had sent to headquarters a substantial contribution to the Jerome campaign fund. This Jerome very soon verified. While Tammany was seeking to make the most of Jerome's assault upon me, and ardent Republicans were threatening to resent it by either putting him off the ticket or insuring his defeat at the polls, the candidate withdrew his charge and demonstrated to the satisfaction of all concerned that he had been the unwilling victim of misinformation. Except for this incident, there was none that seriously impeded the march of the Fusion hosts to victory.

Rarely have the Greater New York Republican organizations conducted a more offensive battle than they did in the 1901 campaign. A house-to-house canvass was made and so thoroughly managed that we knew fully a fortnight before election day that we had Tammany whipped. Despite

Richard Croker's attempt to conceal the Tiger's claws beneath the cloak of Edward M. Shepard, his candidate for Mayor, a man who had hitherto been his implacable foe, Low defeated him by over 30,000 plurality. Every candidate on the Fusion City and County tickets was elected. So chagrined was Mr. Croker that he formally abdicated forever the Tammany leadership, and hied himself back to the seclusion of his Irish castle.

As Job E. Hedges aptly observed at the time: "The Fusion movement put an end to government by cable."

LOW AND I AGREE ON PATRONAGE

The Republican organizations fared much better for patronage under Low than under Strong. Strong had been long on preëlection promises, but nothing in fulfilment. Low made comparatively few promises, but I must do him the justice to say that he did his best to make those few good. Soon after Low's election, he and I met at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. It was agreed between us that Colonel John N. Partridge, who had served under Low while Mayor of Brooklyn, in the early eighties, as Police Commissioner, and under Governor Roosevelt as Superintendent of Public Works, should be Police Commissioner for the Greater New York. Partridge was not the first choice of the organizations, but was accepted, and he was appointed as a Republican. So were

MacDougall Hawkes, Dock Commissioner; Thos. Sturgis, Fire Commissioner; William R. Willcox, President of the Park Commission; Richard Young, Commissioner of Parks for Brooklyn; James L. Wells, President, and Commissioner Samuel Strassbourger, of the Tax Board; and Homer Folks, Commissioner of Charities. Not all of these were by any means devoted Republican organization men, but they were so much to be preferred to those named by Strong that we acquiesced in their selection.

Though, as I have said, the Republicans cast four-fifths of the entire vote for Low, he named Republicans for only fifteen of the twenty-five most important places within his gift. The great Street Cleaning Department was placed in charge of Dr. John McGraw Woodbury, whom we never had heard of as a street cleaner or anything else. He was said to be a Democrat. Herman Ridder, who so emphatically opposed the nomination of Low, landed Gustav Lindenthal as Commissioner of Bridges. E. J. Lederle, whose politics I never knew, was made Commissioner of Health; Robert W. DeForest, Democrat, was made Tenement House Commissioner; Thomas W. Hynes, Democrat, Commissioner of Correction; J. Hampden Dougherty, Democrat, Commissioner of Gas, Electricity and Water Supply; William H. Russell and Edward T. Owen, Democrats, Commissioners of Accounts. John E. Eustis, at present one of the Hughes Public Service Commissioners, was named

for Park Commissioner for the Bronx. George L. Rives, Democrat, was chosen Corporation Counsel. Though he was peculiarly objectionable to some of the most devoted supporters of Low, they offered no opposition.

ONE PERSON APPOINTED FOR ME

Low had one Judge of the Special Sessions Court to name. He for a long time refused to consider the claims of any Republican. He insisted that he must have a Hebrew Democrat. There were more conferences between Low and Morris over this appointment than over any other except perhaps that of McDougall Hawkes. Morris from the outset maintained that a Republican should be selected, and kept urging Julius M. Mayer, a Republican Hebrew. The Mayor finally agreed to appoint him if I would make a personal request. I did so, and Mayer went upon the bench.

Looking back over the personnel of the Low administration, I can hardly recall another official whose appointment was due ultimately to my personal desire. I have been told since that with the completion of his cabinet, Mayor Low became possessed of the idea that he had done all he thought necessary for the Republican organization. And much to the disappointment of the leaders he permitted Republican and Democratic heads of departments to studiously ignore recommendations for place in subordinate positions. The result

was that instead of the devoutly wished for turning out of office of thousands of Tammany henchmen, which the people had a right to expect when they voted for Low, thousands upon thousands of them continued to hold jobs and labor incessantly for the machine in Fourteenth Street.

Grout, whose ambition seemed to be to succeed Low as Mayor, as the nominee of the Democratic party, played in with Tammany Hall so successfully as to force his selection for Comptroller by that organization three years later.

Fornes had very little patronage to dispense. He did fulfil one promise, and that was to make Herbert Parsons, now chairman of the New York Republican County Committee, chairman of the Aldermanic Finance Committee. Probably 40,000 of the 45,000 employees carried on the city payrolls had been thrown under the protection of the civil service by Tammany Hall. Therefore, only about one-ninth of the total number of places were available for the new administration. Commissioner of Docks Hawkes, though appointed expressly upon recommendation of President Morris, and though possessing about fifteen hundred places for distribution, retained all but about three hundred of the Tammany followers he found in his department. Fire Commissioner Sturgis pursued a similar policy. So did the majority of the other Republican heads of departments.

FUSION "PAP" USED TO FEED THE TIGER

As for the Democratic department chiefs, practically all of them seemed imbued with a determination to court the favor of Tammany Hall, hoping that with the coming of another campaign they would be honored with places on that organization's ticket. This was particularly true of President Jacob A. Cantor, of the Borough of Manhattan, who, by the way, has not been heard of in politics since he retired.

Jerome declined to consider any proposition for the appointment of attachés in the District Attorney's office desired by the Republican organization. President Willcox, of the Park Commission, and his associates, followed a policy of antagonism toward any suggestions President Morris might make. The result was that instead of Low and his running mates turning the "Tammany rascals" out, an army of over forty thousand was permitted to retain place. And this army fought as one man successfully in 1903 to put Low out and McClellan in the Mayor's chair. Indeed, if the election returns of that year are studied closely, it will be seen that the united support by this aggregation of the Tammany candidates was more than sufficient to undo all that had been promised by those who made up and put in power the Fusion nominees of two years before.

CHAPTER XXI

1901-1906

How I nominated and elected Odell Governor—He starts out too quick to become a State leader—Our differences over appointments and legislation—Great mistake in failure to put the police under State supervision—Contests at 1902 and 1904 State and National conventions—Am reëlected to the Senate—Roosevelt cause of Odell's downfall—Hughes, the dictator.

THE nomination of Roosevelt for Vice-President consummated, it became necessary to select his successor for Governor.

A practically unanimous sentiment for Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., developed among the loyal Republicans. He had been a successful business man at Newburgh, had served several terms in Congress, and seemed well fitted to take up the reins about to be laid down by Roosevelt.

The one argument raised against Odell was that he had been too closely identified with and too active in organization politics. This carried no weight with me. Nor did it wield any influence with the delegates who assembled at Saratoga in

TIMOTHY L. WOODRUFF FRANK W. HIGGINS

JOHN RAINES

September of 1900. They nominated Odell without serious opposition. In so doing they bore testimony to his business capacity and party devotion. They also recognized his splendid management of the 1898 canvass, when he served as chairman of the Republican State Committee, and within the last two weeks transformed what seemed inevitable defeat into a substantial victory for Roosevelt and the State and Legislative tickets. Bryan's nomination for President by the Democrats, and the selection of McKinley and Roosevelt by the Republicans, made New York as certain for us as anything could be.

Though Odell was cut considerably by Independents, he pulled through with 111,000 plurality over John B. Stanchfield, his Democratic opponent.

With Odell's inauguration, January 1, 1901, I became satisfied that we had a typical party Governor, and that we should get an unalloyed party administration. Age and business cares had induced me to surrender to Odell, in great measure, the management of the organization.

I SURRENDER ACTIVE MANAGEMENT TO ODELL

Friends warned me that I was committing a blunder, and that I was deliberately handing over power to a man who would use it against me. I answered that I could not and would not believe that there was any risk in delegating my au-

thority to a man whom I had made State Committeeman, chairman of the State Executive and the full State Committee, and named for Governor. I trusted Odell as I would trust one of my own sons, and thought he never would abuse that confidence.

Just before Odell took the oath of office, we talked over the names of State officers to be appointed. We agreed upon a majority of them. It was, however, stipulated that we should not select the Superintendent of Public Works, the most important office within the Governor's hands, until we came together again.

I was astonished, a day or two after Odell assumed office, to read in the newspapers an announcement that he had appointed Charles Spencer Boyd Superintendent of Public Works. This did not accord with our understanding. I at first discredited the news. I soon ascertained, however, that it was true.

I never had heard of Boyd. The Governor had never mentioned him to me. When I asked the Governor for an explanation, he replied that Boyd had been a chum of his at Columbia University; that he was a competent civil engineer, and that he had named him to make sure that the Department of Public Works would be run intelligently and on a business basis.

The Governor further urged that he must assume the privilege of choosing at least one of his personal and trusted friends for a big office. I

was not pleased, but I finally accepted the Boyd appointment without public complaint.

Trouble-makers sought at this very time to create a breach between the Governor and myself. Intimate political associates admonished me that the Governor was ambitious to become the leader of the organization and was plotting to supplant me. I was loth to believe this.

My friends reminded me, too, that though the Governor had agreed with me and Senator Raines and other Legislative leaders that he would recommend in his initial message the establishment of a State constabulary, and that the recommendation was written out in my apartments; yet, when that message was promulgated, there was no suggestion about a State constabulary.

ODELL'S FIRST INSUBORDINATE ACT

On the contrary, the Governor urged the abolition of the four-headed New York Police Board and the establishment of a single-headed commission. Though Senator Raines had introduced the State constabulary measure, concurred in by the Governor and myself soon after his election, the Governor disowned it and substituted one that put out of office the Van Wyck board, consisting of Bernard J. York and John B. Sexton, Democrats, and Jacob Hess and Henry E. Abell, Republicans. Hess and Odell had displaced Thomas L. Hamilton and William E. Phillips, Republicans,

removed by Mayor Van Wyck, because they would not tolerate Deveryism.

The bill also abolished the office of Chief of Police, then held by William S. Devery. Governor Odell forced this through the Legislature in February, 1901, and approved it on Washington's Birthday. Mayor Van Wyck quickly appointed Michael C. Murphy Commissioner of Police. Murphy as promptly made Devery his deputy. This was in absolute violation of a contract made by the Tammany organization leaders. They promised that if the provision in the original bill, prohibiting the appointment as Commissioner, or Deputy Commissioner, of any member of the uniformed force, or any Commissioner, were stricken out, they would guarantee that Devery should not be retained in the department in any capacity. The provision was eliminated. Immediately upon the announcement of the selection of Devery as Murphy's deputy, I determined to renew my influence for the immediate passage of the Raines State constabulary measure. I wired Governor Odell and Speaker Nixon to meet me the day following the appointment of Devery. They responded. Nixon readily agreed to push the Raines bill through the Assembly. Governor Odell protested that a trial must be made of the new law. I argued that the bestowal of additional honors upon Devery, especially after the vicious record he had made, was sufficient excuse of itself for the State to assume supreme control of the New

York Police Department. I went so far as to advise that the Governor was justified in removing not only Devery, but Commissioner Murphy and Mayor Van Wyck himself, for so flagrantly violating the spirit, if not the letter, of the law.

Again the Governor pleaded: "Wait! wait!"

Within a week or two after Murphy and Devery took hold, the metropolitan newspapers demonstrated that crime was never so prevalent; that Devery was the real ruler of the department, and that Murphy was his mere puppet. The Governor, too, seemed to come around to this view.

REPUDIATES PLEDGE FOR STATE POLICE

March 20 we met again. We came to what I regarded as a thorough understanding as to the kind of police legislation he would approve. It provided for a restoration of the metropolitan system that prevailed in the early seventies, the State taking over the police forces of the cities as it had already taken over the Excise Department. The draft of the measure was prepared and accepted by the Governor. My son, Frank, was delegated to perfect it. He did so, and at my request took it to Albany. When he submitted it to the Governor, he was astonished to hear him say that he had concluded to stand for no such measure. When my son reminded him of the agreement at the conference, he denied having given any pledge. The two parted after an animated colloquy.

That night the Governor made a statement at Albany, declaring that he never had promised to approve either a State constabulary or a metropolitan police act. I could not conceive that this was authentic. I called up the Governor on the 'phone. He told me he had changed his mind. I asked him to come to New York, as soon as convenient, and talk it over. He did so. I again failed to persuade him that it was the proper time to push the proposed legislation. So I went to work to create party and popular sentiment for it. That my views might be thoroughly understood, I reduced them to writing:

WHY I ADVOCATED A STATE CONSTABULARY

"The laws against gambling and disorderly resorts, sales of liquor under prohibited conditions, and other laws for the suppression of vice in the city of New York, are not enforced by that police. The police appear to be protecting the law-breakers. Such protection can only be explained upon the theory that money is being paid therefor by the law-breakers.

"The conditions have become so bad, that citizens have been forced to organize a committee to do work which ought to be done by the police. The committee is employing its own detectives. The necessity for such a committee, and the protection of vice and crime by the police, have been conclusively demonstrated to my mind by the successful

raids upon gambling houses and poolrooms, recently made by the District Attorney and the committee.

"It is evident that such illegal resorts as gambling houses and poolrooms cannot exist unless their location and the facilities which they offer are generally known, and the claim made by high officials that they are unable to suppress illegal resorts, which are known to the driver of every cab, is obviously absurd.

"The police legislation, enacted at the present session, was thought by some to be an adequate remedy for the evils then existing. The only effect of this legislation seems to have been to increase the malign efficiency of the police force as an agency for the encouragement of crime and the collection of money from criminals.

"I do not understand that the Governor takes issue with me upon any of the facts above stated. I understand that he does not desire to propose additional police legislation for the city of New York, during the present session, because such new legislation would place him in a more or less antagonistic position to the views expressed by him in his first message to the Legislature, and because, if the citizens of New York do not like police blackmail, their best remedy is to be found, not by an appeal to the Legislature, but at the polls.

"The Governor considers these objections to additional police legislation, at this session of the

Legislature, sound. I do not. This is the only difference between us. In the near future there will probably be a conference of some of the leaders of the Republican party. I have confidence in the wisdom of these leaders. I have no interest in this matter, except to advise what seems to me for the public good. I have no pride of opinion with respect to the police question. I am ready to accept any conclusion which may be reached at such a conference, and I assume that the Governor will not be entirely uninfluenced by the view of the leaders of the party."

ODELL REFUSES TO CONFER

I called a conference of the party leaders. They responded from all quarters of the State. I invited Governor Odell to participate. He ignored my communication. After an all-day exchange of views, it was decided that we should not attempt to force upon the Governor legislation for which he would not stand, and that might provoke a quarrel that would imperil party success in the State contest of 1902 and national conflict of 1904.

I thought then, and I still believe, that a State police would have remedied much of the evils from which many of the cities have suffered. I thought then, and I still think, that one of the greatest mistakes Governor Odell ever made was to oppose State supervision of the police. I have noticed that the effort I made years ago to have

legislation enacted providing for this is being again agitated. I hope that ultimately it will prevail. The remarkable achievements of the State Excise Department, in raising revenue and enforcing the law, so far as its limited number of inspectors is concerned, proves that State supervision is correct in practice as well as in theory. I doubt very much if the police problem will ever be solved until the State takes hold and solves it by making the various departments subsidiary to the government at Albany.

ERECTION OF A MACHINE TO CRUCIFY ME

Evidence continued to multiply that Odell was building up a machine of his own. But I "sat tight" and kept almost daily denying that there was any friction between us, merely to prevent party division. Well into the second year of his term it was apparent to everybody that the Governor had deliberately planned to assume the party leadership. He consulted with me now and then, but went back to Albany and did things that were not according to my views. He distributed patronage among his allies and ignored the requests of my friends. I still kept silent, being unwilling to lend myself to any movement that might cause such disasters as we suffered in 1882, 1884 and 1891.

During the fall of 1902, a revolt against the renomination of Odell was fomented by members of

my "Old Guard." I quelled it. I did advise the Governor that he would commit a mistake in running again, considering the temper of the party. True, he had proved a most excellent executive and had to his credit the abolition of the direct tax and other laws which proved popular with the people. Indeed, some independent newspapers proclaimed him the best Governor the State ever had. I noticed, however, that the newspapers that had always grilled me were most fulsome in their praise of the Governor.

Long before the State convention, which had been called for September 23, 1902, at Saratoga, the renomination of Odell was a foregone conclusion. The question that confronted us then was who should be the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. Timothy L. Woodruff, who had served under Black, Roosevelt and Odell, announced his reluctance to run a fourth time. Six months prior to the convention, President Roosevelt had suggested to me that George R. Sheldon, banker, Union League Club member and a Republican of the highest character, would be an admirable successor to Woodruff. Odell and I talked it over, and we agreed that the President's choice was a capital one. A few days before the convention, Odell, Woodruff, Black and a number of the other leaders met at Sheldon's New York home. A formal compact was made to support Sheldon for Lieutenant-Governor. We all offered our congratulations to Sheldon. Inasmuch as the remain-

der of the incumbent Republican State officers were to be renominated, I looked for merely a ratification meeting at Saratoga. I little dreamed that we were in for a sensational struggle that all but lost us the State.

SHELDON ASSAILED

I started for the convention city on Sunday, September 20. Aboard the train I read an interview with William Berri, proprietor of the Brooklyn *Standard Union,* and the bosom friend of Woodruff, savagely attacking Sheldon. Berri accused Sheldon of identification with the whisky, shipbuilding and other trusts, and proclaimed that it would be a calamity to nominate such a man for Lieutenant-Governor.

I was more than provoked. On reaching Saratoga, I sent for Woodruff and Berri and insisted upon their explaining why they assailed Sheldon, particularly after Woodruff had espoused Sheldon's cause.

Woodruff disclaimed responsibility for the onslaught upon Sheldon. Berri affirmed the interview, and insisted that the party would court defeat should a man with Sheldon's corporation record be placed on the ticket. I frankly told Mr. Berri that I disagreed with him. Then I turned to Woodruff and said: "You and I pledged our support to Sheldon at the New York conference. Whatever you do, I shall stand by that pledge."

Woodruff, who I suspected might have been secretly urged by Berri to become a candidate, again protested that he was for Sheldon and would stick by him to the finish. I sent for Sheldon. I asked him what truth there was in Berri's statement.

"Just this," replied Sheldon. "I was instrumental, some time ago, in reorganizing the Standard Distributing Company, an alcohol concern. I finished the job in four months. I had no knowledge then, nor have I now, that the concern was or is a part of the so-called whisky trust. Anyway, I have been out of it for a long time."

"That is sufficient, George. I shall stand by you if no other delegate to this convention does. I never failed yet to fulfil a pledge," I answered.

Sheldon was so exasperated that he sought out Woodruff, charged him with having inspired falsehood, and denounced him for pretending to be loyal to him (Sheldon) while playing for a renomination. This Woodruff denied, and reaffirmed his promise to support Sheldon.

Throughout the day and night I was employed in rounding up delegates who had read the Berri statement, and who expressed fears that it had been instigated by Woodruff. By midnight, however, things had quieted down, and I retired convinced that the flurry was over and that Sheldon would be nominated.

A part of my time the following day was devoted to consultation about the platform. Lou.

F. Payn, who had been removed by Governor Roosevelt as Superintendent of Insurance, led a movement formed to defeat any pledge of support to Roosevelt for a renomination to the Presidency in 1904. We mollified Payn and his followers with a plank reading thus:

"We look to the renomination of President Roosevelt in 1904, and pledge ourselves, so far as it lies within our power, to do what we can to secure that renomination."

Payn swallowed this more agreeably than he would an original plank, instructing the New York delegation to support Roosevelt through thick and thin.

ODELL ESPOUSES THE ANTI-SHELDON CAUSE

With Monday night came the main body of the Odell men. The Governor's father, his brothers, Postmaster Hiram B. Odell, of Newburgh, and Prof. C. B. Odell, of Columbia University; Railroad Commissioner Joseph E. Dickey; Congressmen Lucius N. Littauer and George F. Smith; Senators Nathaniel A. Elsberg and Elon R. Brown, and others, worked like nailers to shelve Sheldon, and insisted that either Senator Frank W. Higgins, of Cattaraugus, or Horace White, of Onondaga, be named for Lieutenant- Governor. The answer they got was in the shape of pledges to Sheldon at caucuses of the New York and

enough other delegations to make his nomination certain.

The Governor's relatives and friends then rushed to the telephones and besought the Governor at Albany (who had assured me he would not attend the convention because he believed it would appear indelicate) to come to Saratoga and "save himself."

There was no one to be saved, and no one was in danger. But the Governor's immediate friends so worked upon his fears that he boarded a special train and dashed into Saratoga, late on Tuesday afternoon. A delegation of his admirers met him at the station and endeavored to persuade him to ignore me, take the bit in his teeth, throw Sheldon overboard and name his own ticket.

SHELDON'S RETIREMENT DEMANDED

The Governor replied: "Wait until I see Senator Platt."

I was in consultation at my United States Hotel cottage with Senator Depew, former Governor Black, Chairman Morris, of the New York Republican Committee, Colonel George W. Dunn, Edward Lauterbach and other leaders, when Governor Odell burst in upon us. I affected surprise, and said:

"Why, Governor, your presence here astonishes me. You said you would not attend the convention. Pray, what brings you here?"

The Governor flushed a bit and replied: "I came because I have been overwhelmed with messages protesting against the nomination of Sheldon for Lieutenant-Governor. If it is true that he is identified with the whisky trust, he ought not to go on the ticket."

"Your apprehensions are groundless. These stories have been invented by Kings County men who want Woodruff renominated. We have discounted them, and Sheldon will be nominated," was my response.

"But these protests came, not alone from Kings County, but from all over the State. No candidate connected with a trust can be elected," urged Odell.

"Why, Roosevelt and yourself picked Sheldon six months ago. Sheldon is your friend," was my retort.

"Yes, Sheldon is my friend, but I knew nothing of his candidacy until I read an interview with you, declaring that he would make a good man for my running mate."

"You agreed with us in New York that he would do, did you not?" I asked.

"I did not know all I know now. I guess I'll go and see my friends upstairs," replied Odell, as he started for the door.

"What friends? Are you not with friends here?" I queried.

"Yes, but my father, brothers and friends from my home county delegation are upstairs, and I

would like to talk with them," responded Odell as he went out.

"You are foolish, Ben, to fight Sheldon," put in former Governor Black. "You will be elected, anyway," he added.

ODELL THREATENS WITHDRAWAL

"I don't propose to risk it. I will withdraw myself before I run on the ticket with Sheldon. I will take Higgins, White or even Woodruff," roared Odell.

"But Woodruff cannot be nominated. He is acting under the advice of foolish friends. The people will not tolerate the confiscation of an office by a man who has had it three times. Now, keep your agreement with Sheldon, as I shall, Ben," I added affectionately.

"I shall make Sheldon withdraw," was Odell's obstinate reply.

"I shall refuse to be a party to that," I responded.

Odell hurried to rejoin his friends at the Orange County headquarters.

After several hours' consultation with them, he returned to me. He reiterated his determination not to run if Sheldon were to be his companion on the ticket, and formally demanded that I withdraw my support. I again declined.

Sheldon was sent for. As he met Odell, he exclaimed, in tones of mingled grief and indignation:

"I never would have been a candidate except for requests made by you and the President. I never sought this nomination. But now that I am in the fight, I purpose to stick."

Then turning to me, Sheldon asked: "Do you request me to withdraw, Senator?"

"I do not," I replied. "I pledged you my support, and you will have it just so long as you are a candidate, George," I added.

"The popular belief is that you are in the whisky trust," suggested Governor Black.

"That is not true," answered Sheldon. Then addressing Governor Odell, he continued: "If it will add one vote to your majority, I will gladly comply with your request to withdraw."

Until nearly two o'clock in the morning the argument went on. Finally Sheldon went over to a desk, wrote out a formal declination and handed it to me.

I said: "George, I did not ask this. You have done this without my advice or request. I am still for you, and will see you through. You did this of your own free will?"

"I certainly did," answered Sheldon tearfully. Then seizing me by both hands, Sheldon exclaimed: "And God bless you for your faithfulness to me!"

Before we went to bed that morning, we all agreed upon Frank W. Higgins for Lieutenant-Governor.

The next morning Woodruff called upon me

and suggested that Norman S. Dike, of Kings, be named for Secretary of State.

MY REBUKE TO WOODRUFF

I was very much provoked at Woodruff, chiefly because he permitted his friends to boom him for a place against Sheldon, and also because he refused to frankly say that he would not permit his name to go before the convention. When he asked me to see that Dike was named, I guess I lost my temper, for I replied: "Not by a damned sight! I am amazed that you should ask this after what happened last night. John F. O'Brien will be nominated for Secretary of State. And I shall expect you and your Kings County delegates to support him."

O'Brien was nominated and Woodruff and his Kings men did support him.

Denial of the nomination to Sheldon, a general suspicion that Odell had sought to set up shop for himself, his refusal to approve a plan for organization of the New York Police Department on State lines, combined with the casting of tens of thousands of illegal ballots in the metropolis, cut down our splendid plurality of the two years before to a little more than 8,000.

Certain of Odell's intimate associates accused friends of mine of contributing to the opposing vote. That charge was absolutely unwarranted. Personally, I exerted myself as I rarely had to

make sure of the reëlection of Governor Odell, and my friends were as faithful to him as men could be to one of their own.

Odell himself, misled by stories carried to him by supposed confidants, apparently believed that some of my friends, particularly in the Greater New York, where Bird S. Coler, the Democratic candidate for Governor, secured the unprecedented plurality of 122,000, had been recreant. Under this misguided notion, he ousted leaders who had served us both acceptably, and installed in their places allies whom he preferred. Thus was William Halpin made chairman of the Republican County Committee in place of M. Linn Bruce, who was as loyal an official as ever held a place.

I had a different theory from that of Odell as to why he had received so comparatively meager a vote in the Greater New York. I maintained that the Tammany police winked at election frauds, and that Odell was the victim of many thousands of crooked votes. I so told Odell. While he was inclined to agree with me in a measure, he insisted upon continuing his reorganization of the New York County Committee.

PLOT TO DEFEAT MY RETURN TO THE SENATE

During December, 1902, there developed a secretly conducted campaign to prevent my return to the United States Senate. Some of Odell's friends were behind it. A number of them, nota-

bly Senators Edgar T. Brackett, Elon R. Brown and Nathaniel A. Elsberg, urged the Governor to clinch his hold on the leadership by putting me out of the Senate, taking the seat himself and placing Lieutenant-Governor Higgins in charge of the State government.

Odell persistently denied to me that he at any time had designs upon my Senatorial chair, or that he ever encouraged the idea that I should not be reëlected.

I had no desire to go back to Washington. But when I was informed that the same cliques that had tried to stop my election in 1897 were attempting to combine on any one but myself, I concluded to permit my name again to go before the Republican Legislative caucus in January, 1903.

Had there been any organized Odell or other formidable plan to defeat me, it did not demonstrate its strength at the caucus. Brackett, Brown and Elsberg did exert themselves to beat me with Elihu Root, then Secretary of War. Their effort proved abortive. None of these Senators participated in the caucus. I was unanimously renominated, and finally received the vote of every Republican legislator in the joint Legislative session, against John B. Stanchfield, the Democratic candidate.

I took comparatively little interest in the Mayoralty campaign of 1903. I was more concerned about the State and nation than the city. My friends acquiesced in the renomination of

Mayor Low, but I had no confidence that he could be reëlected. He had proved himself a mugwump, and many Republicans declared their preference for an out-and-out Tammany Mayor to one of the mugwump gender. I believed, from the moment Colonel George B. McClellan was nominated by the Democrats he would win. And he did by a large plurality.

I had devoted myself to making sure of a Republican majority in the Assembly, and my efforts were crowned with success.

A BUGLE CALL TO THE "OLD GUARD"

During the campaign, but more particularly after election, reports came to me that my opponents planned a complete reorganization of the Legislature, and the dethronement of President *pro tem.* of the Senate Raines and Speaker Nixon. I resolved to put my foot down hard. On Christmas eve I sent out a letter to members of the "Old Guard," which read like this:

Please drop in to see me, either at No. 49 Broadway or the Fifth Avenue Hotel, any day or night before January 4th.

T. C. Platt.

This was accepted as a bugle call for the resumption of the "Sunday-schools." And my battle-scarred allies responded with fervor. I is-

sued a most pressing request to Governor Odell to join us. He ignored it. Until after New Year's day I was constantly in consultation with leaders from every section of the State. Over one hundred of them were in my company. I frankly informed them that, first, I favored the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt for the Presidency. They, with few exceptions, lined up behind me on that proposition. Then I sounded them as to the availability of Timothy L. Woodruff to succeed Governor Odell. There was division over this, but I avowed myself as favorable to Woodruff's nomination and was assured that I would have all the help I needed to place him at the head of the State ticket of 1904.

Later it was agreed that Speaker Nixon should be reëlected Speaker of the Assembly; Colonel Archie E. Baxter, clerk; and that John Raines and not George R. Malby should lead the Republican forces on the Senate floor.

Odell had been reported to be arranging to put out Nixon with Edwin A. Merritt, Jr., or some other friend, and supplant Raines with Malby. Among those who pledged themselves to reinforce me in the program I have just outlined were Lieutenant-Governor Higgins, Senator Depew, Timothy L. Woodruff, Senator Raines, Speaker Nixon, Sereno E. Payne, Republican leader of the House of Representatives; General James S. Clarkson, Collector of the Port N. N. Stranahan; Postmaster Cornelius Van Cott, of New York; Postmaster

George R. Roberts, of Brooklyn; Superintendent of Banks Frederick D. Kilburn; Frank S. Witherbee, Charles S. Francis, Colonel John T. Mott, Senators Wilcox, Allds, McKinney and Krum; Assemblymen Rogers, Cocks, and, indeed, a majority of members of both branches of the Legislature; Michael J. Dady, Fred Greiner, Robert H. Hunter, M. Linn Bruce, James S. Whipple, W. C. Warren, Colonel George W. Dunn, George R. Sheldon, Lou F. Payn, Archie D. Sanders, and others who had been associated with me in the conduct of organization affairs.

Almost from the moment that the news of the conference became circulated the plot to deprive my friends of control of the Legislature ceased. Raines, Nixon and Baxter all retained their offices, and Governor Odell and his followers offered no opposition to the adoption of the Legislature compact concurred in at the New York conference.

ODELL SUPPLANTS DUNN

Had any one been skeptical as to whether Odell still purposed, if he could, to assume the State boss-ship, all doubt must have been dissipated when, during January of 1904, he secretly conducted a canvass of the State Committee as to how they felt about putting Colonel George W. Dunn out and himself in as chairman. I had made Odell chairman originally. He had resigned when elected Governor, in favor of a man who had in-

troduced him to me, when he was begging for a place on the State Committee—a man who had been my devoted lieutenant for forty years. Dunn's sole offense was that he had been faithful to me, when I had differed with the Governor on questions of party and organization policy.

Colonel Dunn, who was chairman of the State Railroad Commission, heard one day that his place was wanted. He boldly entered the Executive Chamber and said: "Governor, I hear you are after the State Committee chairmanship."

Odell nervously answered: "Oh, that's all newspaper talk."

"Well, you are welcome to the job any time you wish to take it," persisted Dunn.

"Don't want it. I have enough troubles here," was Governor Odell's reply.

But rumors that the Governor contemplated a clean sweep of my friends in office and in places of authority in the organization continued to be prevalent. They included a plan for the removal of Frank M. Baker, and the installation of a successor who would insure to the Governor control of the Railroad Commission. I was fortunate in saving Baker, but very soon after he had been retained it developed that Odell was still determined to oust State Chairman Dunn. I apprised Odell of what I had learned, and admonished him that he as Governor would commit a stupendous blunder if he seized and performed the duties of the chairmanship, and thus appropriated the sole

management of the party. Odell newspapers and admirers were most pronounced in their condemnation of his contemplated act. And when, despite remonstrances, he made known his intention to supplant Dunn, I prophesied that it was the beginning of his political downfall, and so it proved.

I AM AGAIN PROCLAIMED LEADER

It was at the Fifth Avenue conference, Sunday, March 20, 1904, that Odell formally made the demand for Colonel Dunn's head. Dunn, wearied with heckling and bickerings, despite my protests, declined to be a candidate for reëlection to the chairmanship. It was finally agreed that my friends should offer no opposition to Odell taking Dunn's seat, if Odell publicly acknowledged me as State leader. This pledge was reduced to writing. Here it is:

At a conference, held this afternoon, between Senator Platt, Governor Odell, Colonel Dunn and many other prominent Republicans, it was, after a full exchange of views, and after statements by both the Senator and the Governor, unanimously agreed that Senator Platt should remain, as he has been in the past, the active leader of the party.

It was further agreed that the Governor should be elected as the chairman of the State Committee to be chosen at the approaching State convention in April.

It was further agreed that wherever there were local contests for leaderships, there should be no interference in favor of or against any one, either by Platt or Odell.

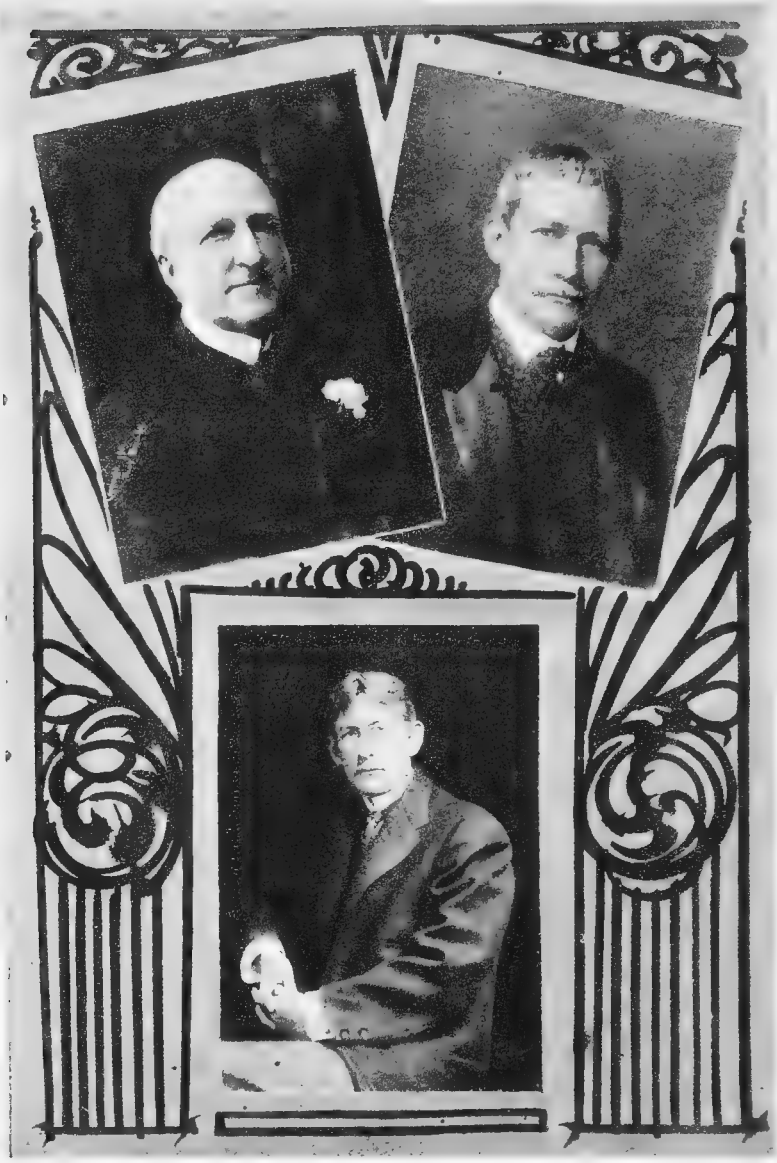
New York, March 20, 1904.

This compact was the result of all-day consultations, one of the features of which was the ceremonial offer of the State chairmanship to Odell by a committee headed by Senator Depew.

DEPEW'S APPEAL FOR HARMONY

Depew thus addressed the Governor: "We have come to you in no spirit of anger or of excitement. We are on the eve of a great political year. If common report be anything, there is serious trouble between you and the aged Senator Platt. If there is a breach, we appeal to you, as loyal Republicans, to assist us in healing it.

"If there are differences, we come to you with the hope that we may reconcile them. We know your strength. We acknowledge that, if you wish, you have the power of relegating Senator Platt to a position of subserviency rather than the distinguished leader he has been for so long, and to whom the party is under so many obligations for the masterful manner in which he has conducted campaigns, won elections and strengthened the party in places where, before his leadership, it was weak.



CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW ELIHU ROOT

FRANK S. BLACK

"We come to you to say we will be perfectly willing for you to become the chairman of the State Committee. Colonel Dunn, the chairman, honestly wishes to retire. He sounded his friends to-day, and he has said repeatedly he would not stand for reëlection.

"Therefore, in order that there may be harmony, we ask you to publicly acknowledge the State leadership of Senator Platt, and in turn he will ask his friends to make your election to succeed Colonel Dunn unanimous. It is with you to say how far these bickerings and quarrels may go on, before they lead to defeat. You may be successful in the State convention, but have you reckoned with the polls in November, and when the counting is done after?"

Governor Odell answered: "I have felt to-day, while a Republican caucus was going on at this hotel, and I not in it, like a cat in a strange garret. I assure you and your honorable committee that I have never disputed the leadership of Senator Platt. I am willing to make any concession that lies within my power to make, to assure him of my loyalty to him, to acknowledge him as the head of the Republican party in New York State, and to bow to his wishes in affairs where our affairs are at issue. I accept your tender of the chairmanship of the committee, and am ready to serve you in any manner you may designate."

MY GRAVE UNDUG

There appeared in one of the New York papers the following morning this comment: "The historian of the future, who writes the story of this wonderful man's wonderful political life, will be compelled to say that on the 20th of March, 1904, Sunday, at an hour when thousands were at religious worship, Senator Platt was in his room undigging the grave that Odell had made for him, and at a later hour sent for the grave-diggers, and showed them the spot, all covered over and patted down, the grass put back and the head and foot stones removed entirely from sight. The historian will, too, perhaps, be constrained to add: 'For the thirteenth time, strange to say, the Senator emerged from political burial stronger than ever before.' "

In the words of my brethren, I can only say "Amen" to this. Odell was unanimously elected State chairman at the convention which met in Carnegie Hall, April 12. I was unanimously chosen to head the delegation to the National Convention, called to meet at Chicago, in June. Senator Depew, Governor Odell and Frank S. Black were other members of the "Big Four."

The only contest of importance at the State Convention was about iron-clad pledges to support Roosevelt for the Presidential nomination. I insisted upon this resolution:

We "instruct" the representatives of New York State, in the national council of the party, to present the candidacy of Theodore Roosevelt for President of the U. S. and use all honorable means to bring about his nomination.

Odell contended that the word "request" should be substituted for "instruct." We ultimately compromised on "direct," and both were satisfied.

The platform praised me thus: "The Republican party acknowledges with gratitude the splendid services of the senior Senator, Thomas C. Platt, who for more than quarter of a century has stood stalwart and firm in the battle for Republican supremacy, and whose leadership has been inspiring and potent in the accomplishment of Republican success."

ROOSEVELT AND FAIRBANKS NOMINATED

The nomination of President Roosevelt had become inevitable long before we went to Chicago, where the National Convention was to meet June 21. The question of paramount consequence was who should be the candidate for Vice-President. I had, a month in advance of the convention, publicly declared myself for my Senatorial colleague, Charles W. Fairbanks, of Indiana. He was, in my judgment, the best type of the Western Republican we could select. He had the party of his home State—a very doubtful one in many cam-

paigns—solidly behind him. Indeed, at the time I question if there was a more popular Republican in the Middle West than Fairbanks.

Eastern men seemed to have gotten a false impression of Fairbanks. His opponents sought to create an impression that he was as frigid a proposition as John Sherman. But he wasn't. No more affable a gentleman ever occupied a post of honor in this or any other government. He was big-hearted, had a head chock full of gray matter, and made friends and few enemies wherever he went.

Governor Odell, soon after I professed Fairbanks my preference for Vice-President, announced himself for Speaker Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois. He endeavored to pledge the New York delegation to "Uncle Joe." En route to Chicago, Odell induced Senator Depew to espouse the cause of Cannon. Fairbanks greatly embarrassed us by declining at first to let us present his name. June 19, however, he confided to me, during a prolonged conference, that he was "in the hands of his friends."

ODELL'S CANNON BOOM SQUELCHED

The New York caucus met that night. By that time, Speaker Cannon had either become satisfied that Fairbanks was certain to be nominated, or that he himself did not desire to run. Anyway, the Speaker announced that he would not allow his name to go before the convention. This left noth-

ing for Odell, Depew and other supporters of the Speaker to do but climb on the Fairbanks wagon. They did this, and the New York delegation, unanimously electing me its chairman, authorized me to cast its entire vote for the Hoosier statesman. It also deputized me to hand in its united vote on all questions before the convention. That ended friction for a while, though there was a contest on for National Committeeman. George R. Sheldon, who had been so ruthlessly handled as a candidate for Lieutenant-Governor in 1902, refused to be a candidate to succeed himself as National Committeeman. I had no candidate. The fight was then between William L. Ward, of Westchester, and William C. Warren, of Erie. Ward finally won. New York was honored through the selection of Elihu Root for temporary chairman of the convention. He delivered a speech that was pronounced the ablest of the very able ones that ever fell from his lips. It was hardly surpassed by that of former Governor Black, who placed President Roosevelt in nomination for a second term. A hurricane of cheers, consuming twenty minutes—a record-breaker then—followed Black's presentation of Roosevelt's name. The nomination was made by acclamation, amidst the wildest scenes of enthusiasm.

DOLLIVER'S TRIBUTE TO ME

Senator John P. Dolliver presented the name of Senator Fairbanks for Roosevelt's running mate. His address was most eloquent. In the midst of it he turned toward me, and touched me deeply by exclaiming: "Before I proceed, I wish to pay my tribute to Thomas C. Platt, that veteran, sagacious and peerless leader from the State of New York, for his loyalty to the principles and nominees of the Republican party."

This pleased not only me, but members of my "Old Guard," mightily. Fassett, Dunn, Woodruff, Higgins, Raines, Payn and others leaped upon chairs and cheered lustily. New York delegates grasped banners and paraded about the hall. In this demonstration they were joined by Pennsylvania and other delegates. It was a totally unexpected but delightful compliment, which I sincerely appreciated.

Fairbanks was ultimately nominated with quite as much unanimity as was Roosevelt. A strong platform, the joint production of the President and Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, was adopted. Then we returned to our homes, happy and sure of victory for the national nominees.

I OFFER THE GOVERNORSHIP TO ROOT

To remove the slightest doubt about holding the electoral vote of New York for Roosevelt and

Fairbanks, I urged Elihu Root to take the nomination for Governor. I was intensely disappointed when he declined. Then I pledged myself to Timothy L. Woodruff. Since the 1902 convention, we had resumed our former cordial relations. I really believed that Woodruff would prove a splendid Governor, and that Erastus C. Knight, of Erie, who had made an admirable record as Comptroller, should be our candidate for Lieutenant-Governor.

I had selected Woodruff and Knight, after a most unequivocal pledge from Governor Odell that he had no candidate for Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, and that he did not purpose to take an active part in making up the State ticket.

The State convention was called for Saratoga, September 14. I went there a few days ahead, as had been my custom. Odell was there, and had assumed command of his auxiliaries. I reiterated to the Governor my previously expressed desire for the nomination of both Woodruff and Knight.

ODELL'S DUPLICITY

Odell looked perplexed. Then he replied: "I am against Woodruff because he cannot be trusted. I still have no candidate. But I suggest that Lieutenant-Governor Higgins has stood long without hitching."

"I am for Woodruff and shall expect you to ful-

fil your pledge to keep your hands off," was my answer.

While Odell kept protesting that he had no candidate, his friends were getting behind Higgins for Governor, and booming Francis Hendricks, Louis Stern, George Cromwell, M. Linn Bruce, and about everybody else except Knight for Lieutenant-Governor.

The situation became acute. In the midst of the contest, Senator Fairbanks, who had just visited President Roosevelt, appeared at Saratoga. Some were of the impression that he came to act as a mediator. That was a mistake. I had invited him to address the convention. And he did. He very properly declined to give advice as to the nomination of a ticket, explaining that he would not presume to insult New York Republicans by even hinting whom they should choose for State candidates.

The day before the convention met, Governor Odell called upon me and said: "I have called a conference for four o'clock this afternoon, at which we shall discuss the make-up of the ticket. I suppose you will attend?"

"Not by a damned sight!" I replied. "You gave me your word that you had no candidate for Governor. Despite this, you have been pledging delegates you control to Higgins. Under such circumstances, I most emphatically decline to attend any conference called for the purpose you indicate."

The Governor pleaded with me to change r mind. I told him again, in as forcible language I could command, that I would not. Govern Odell and his State officers, his State Committ men, and others whom he dominated, held a co ference. It decided to name Higgins for Go ernor, and Bruce for Lieutenant-Governor, aft Hendricks had declined to stand for second pla

HIGGINS BEGS MY SUPPORT

Higgins visited me and besought my indor ment. He said: "My friends have asked me stand for Governor. I have concluded to do I expect to be nominated and elected. But I wa a unanimous nomination. To get it, I need yo support. Can I have it?"

With all the vigor I could summon I answere "No, sir. I am for Woodruff. I have pledged m self to him, and shall stick to him to the finish

"I am very sorry, Senator, but I very mu desire your support," urged Higgins.

"Well, you cannot get it so long as Woodr is a candidate," I replied.

"Then I shall have to go into the convention a fight it out with Woodruff," responded Higgi

"That is just what you will have to do," was r reply.

Governor Odell came in later and persisted th I join his conference. I again refused, sayin "I am told that you and your friends have lin

up for Higgins and intend to force his nomination to-morrow."

"I have no candidate. My choice is the choice of the convention," answered the Governor evasively.

"You are seeking to control this convention and the nominations, though you promised me to keep your hands off."

"I have done my best to get an agreement. I am willing to argue or compromise, but I will not be driven," defiantly replied Odell.

"No one is trying to drive you. I have merely asked you to fulfil your promise to keep your hands off and let the convention name its own candidates," I rejoined.

Governor Odell retired. Late that night he officially and voluntarily confirmed my statements by publicly proclaiming himself for Higgins.

HOW ODELL "KEPT HANDS OFF"

He said: "I have decided to announce myself in favor of Higgins for Governor. I have kept my agreement until now, not to use my influence for the advancement of the interests of my candidate."

My answer was: "I shall employ all the influence I possess to nominate Woodruff for Governor. The Governor has just notified me that he would do all in his power to nominate Higgins. This is the way he has kept his hands off."

I stuck to Woodruff until he arose in the con-
ention and withdrew. Had he not surrendered,
e might have been nominated.

HIGGINS AND BRUCE WIN

Higgins and Bruce were nominated for Gov-
rnor and Lieutenant-Governor respectively. Otto
Kelsey was named for Comptroller; Julius M.
Mayer for Attorney-General; John D. Wallen-
naier for State Treasurer; John F. O'Brien for
Secretary of State; Henry Van Alstyne for Engi-
ıeer and Surveyor; Edgar M. Cullen, Democrat,
ınd William E. Werner, Republican, for Justices
of the Court of Appeals.

Higgins, fine man that he was, could not possi-
ıly have been elected, except for the tremendous
ılurality Roosevelt scored over Parker, the Demo-
ratic nominee for President. That Roosevelt
ıctually carried Higgins and his mates through,
he returns showed.

Roosevelt carried the State by 175,552. Hig-
gins ran nearly 100,000 behind him, defeating
Herrick by 80,560. Had it not been a Presidential
year, Higgins would have been snowed under. I
ıave always believed that Woodruff and Knight
would have done far better than Higgins and
Bruce as State ticket leaders.

DEPEW REËLECTED TO THE U. S. SENATE

Immediately after the election of 1904, Governor Odell was said to have selected Frank S. Black as his candidate to succeed Chauncey M. Depew in the U. S. Senate. Depew was very anxious for reëlection. And I was quite as solicitous that he should continue my colleague. I had begun a campaign to insure this, with the nomination of members of the Legislature. And when election figures showed a large Republican majority, in both Senate and Assembly, I assured Depew he need have no apprehension about going back to Washington.

Still, we both kept our eyes peeled and watched Odell and Black. December 1, 1904, the Governor, through a friend, announced that Black was his preference for Depew's seat. He called a conference of his Legislative friends, and afterward sought to convince me and others that he had Depew whipped. I disputed with him; I endeavored to show wherein he lacked the votes necessary to control the Republican caucus. Meantime, I had seen President Roosevelt. He expressed a profound desire that Depew should be returned. That should have settled it, but still the Black forces labored incessantly.

A few days before the caucus, however, there was an earnest talk between the Governor and Edward H. Harriman, who then wielded some power in the financial world. Harriman in-

uced Odell to agree to withdraw his support from Slack and get in behind Depew. Just what happened and was said, when the Governor notified Slack of his change of heart, I prefer that one or he other should relate. Anyway, there was no erious opposition to Depew in the Republican aucus that met at Albany in January, 1905, and .e was reëlected without trouble for another six 'ears.

During the nine years that Depew and I served .s colleagues in the Senate there was a comradehip and harmony between us that was most deightful. I had known him since away back in .863.

In 1864, as a candidate for Secretary of State, ıe carried New York by 30,000, though two years ›efore the Democrats had swept the State. I knew ıim better in 1866, when President Johnson, after ıgreeing to appoint him Collector of the Port of Vew York, tore up his commission because Senaor Edwin D. Morgan refused to sustain his veto ›f the civil rights bill. I grew more intimate with Depew when he became attorney for and afterward president of the Vanderbilt system of railvays.

It was with pain that I saw him take a nominaion for Lieutenant-Governor on the Greeley ticket n 1872. But ever after that he was a straight-out ›rganization Republican.

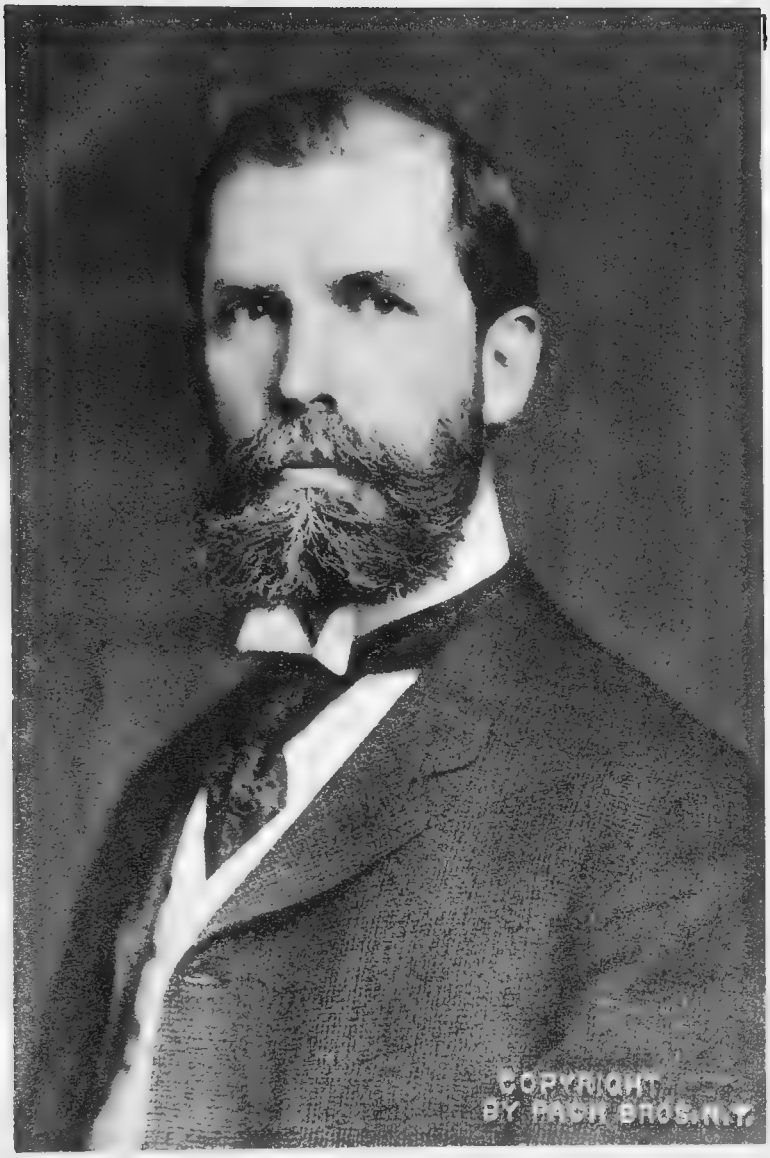
Depew was a candidate against me for the U. S. Senate in 1881, but withdrew on the thirty-fourth

ballot. He might have gone to the Senate in 1885, instead of William M. Evarts, but he preferred to retain his association with the Vanderbilts. He was indorsed for President by the New York delegation in 1888 as a favorite son. From that time he was my associate in many a hard-fought political battle. Depew has probably delivered more speeches for the Republican party than any man living. He was and is a corking stump speaker. For a quarter of a century he was more in demand than any orator I recall.

ROUT OF ODELL—HUGHES GOVERNOR

I was a distant spectator rather than a participant in the overthrow of Odell at Saratoga in September, 1906. President Roosevelt ran the convention that met there and named Charles E. Hughes for Governor in place of Frank W. Higgins, who was so ill at that time that he died the following February. It was Roosevelt who, when it seemed likely that either Root or Black or Bruce would be named, simply spoke the name "Hughes." Whether by telephone, telegram or messenger, it does not matter. And Hughes it was.

It was Roosevelt who directed that Odell should step out of the State chairmanship and give way to Timothy L. Woodruff. It was Roosevelt who sent Elihu Root into New York State to save Hughes, when it was feared that William R.



CHARLES E. HUGHES

Hearst, the Democratic candidate for Governor, would defeat him. I sorrowed much that every other Republican candidate on the ticket except Hughes was beaten. Bruce, the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, had made a most worthy record in the office. I should like to have seen him promoted to the Governorship.

HUGHES, THE "HARD BOSS"

As for Hughes, he is too much of an idealist to suit me. I never have had any use for a man who, after accepting honors from his party, assumes to be bigger and better than the party, and strives to wreck it. I never saw so much tyranny and intolerance exhibited in public office as I have witnessed in Hughes. While pretending to fight bossism, he developed during his first term as the greatest boss that ever sat in the Executive Chamber.

Unlike any of his predecessors, he spurned suggestions that he ought to consult with Legislative leaders about proposed laws. For two years he arrogated to himself both Legislative and Executive powers. He sought to make two hundred men, elected to represent respective constituencies all over the State, mere "rubber stamps." From January 1, 1907, to January 1, 1909, there was no Legislature at Albany.

I am rejoiced that there was an awakening, early in 1909, and that, led by John Raines and

ıes W. Wadsworth, Jr., the law-makers re-
ed that they were sent to the Senate and As-
.bly to speak for their home districts and not
one man temporarily clothed with Executive
hority.

f I have been an "Easy Boss," Hughes has
d to be a "Hard Boss."

ictatorship will never be tolerated in free
erica. Its exponents may sometimes ride into
ver, but when they fall they never can resurrect
mselves.

From left to right: Edward G. Riggs, W. A. Smyth, Edward Lauterbach, Geo. W. Dunn, Albert H. Howe, C. H. Murray, R. L. Fox, Hamilton Fish, Thomas Collier Platt, John Raines.

A BIRTHDAY PARTY

CHAPTER XXII

:te legislation for which I am responsible—Tributes from "Old Guard" leaders—Excise, election, corporation and rapid transit laws I pushed—A pioneer in subway plans.

JPON my final retirement from the U. S. Sen-, President *pro tem.* of the State Senate John ines, Deputy Comptroller Otto Kelsey, and lliam Barnes, Jr., very kindly paid me tribute advancing at Albany the "best constructive islation of recent years" while I was at the .d of the party organization.

Modesty forbids that I should say too much ut the influence I personally wielded in having ced upon the statute books many of the laws ich a majority of citizens have agreed, I be-e, resulted in great benefit to them and the .te. Otto Kelsey, who served in the Legislature en I was seeking to guide the organization ces in enacting legislation, testifies that: "To . Platt, as much if not more than any other n, is due the credit of pushing through the pres-election and excise laws. Both laws stand out among the best the State has ever enacted, and principle they will probably stand for years come."

Senator Raines has publicly given his approbation to my part in creating the Greater New York and aiding him in putting through the excise law that bears his name.

"A SCORCHER OF FAKERS"

Mr. Barnes, than whom there is no cleverer politician in the State (Governor Hughes' opinion to the contrary), commends my services to the nation and State in a way that makes me blush. He recently wrote a criticism of Governor Hughes, in which he said:

"The life of the people should not be made one long political miasma. Whatever opinion may be now, the day is not far distant when the clarity of mind which was shown by Thomas C. Platt in the affairs of the State will be recognized for its great worth. His brain was so simple that it sensed without study what was meretricious; and despite the maddest antagonism, purely because of the power which came to him through his wisdom, he protected the State from error with rare intelligence. He scorched the faker with caustic irony; and had his hand been as free as his hope, he never would have permitted an agitator for political advancement to have passed the portal."

The genesis and putting together of the Greater New York have already been described. During the Morton administration I exerted myself to secure to the State the best excise law that could

e contrived. I did this despite the fact that opponents of any radical change threatened my life ı such a brazen manner that friends insisted upon mploying detectives, day and night, to protect ıe. I did this, too, regardless of the fact that a ery formidable faction in my party held over ıy head threats that I would not only suffer bod-.y harm, but surely would lose the leadership.

As in other cases involving political and legis-ıtive problems, this act was originally considered t what was then known popularly as the "Sun-ıay-school," which during the session was held ılmost every Sabbath at my rooms at the Fifth ıvenue Hotel, New York. There the leaders of ıoth branches of the Legislature were accustomed o gather, and we took counsel as to what laws vould prove most beneficial to the people and he State.

EXCISE LAW ABUSES CORRECTED

At the time each city had a local excise board. Neither these nor the police seemed able to en-'orce the statutes restricting the sale of liquor. Though there was a supposed stringent law ıgainst the sale of intoxicants on Sunday, it was ıonstantly violated. Abundant evidence devel-ıped that the police were under the pay of hotel ınd saloon keepers, who persisted in doing busi-ıess on Sunday. Taxes supposed to be exacted 'or the privilege of conducting a liquor business

were openly evaded. The revenues were ridiculously small, and it became a notorious fact that this kind of traffic was not bearing its just share of the expenses of maintaining the government.

It was determined at conferences of the Legislative leaders and myself that the cities having demonstrated their inability to control the traffic the State should take hold. Senator Raines, acting in coöperation with myself and leaders of the Senate and Assembly, framed a bill creating a State excise commission, and increasing the cost of following the liquor business. At first there were vehement protests from various quarters of the State. The brewers and liquor dealers banded together to defeat the proposed legislation. But the organization made the Raines bill a party measure, and it was put through the Legislature. Governor Morton approved the bill. And I think Mr. Morton will agree with me that it was one of the crowning acts of his administration.

A SEVENTY THOUSAND DOLLAR BRIBERY FUND

The Raines bill was passed despite the raising and offering of a large sum of money to members of the Legislature to vote against it. Only a short time ago George L. Carlisle told about it in the New York *Times*. He recited the confession of a lobbyist. Carlisle wrote:

"When we were seated, he said he would show me the list—the official list, as it were—giving

ıe names of those who had come to an agreement ·ith him as to the Raines bill and the amount each ad agreed to receive and vote against it. Openıg his trunk, he thrust his hand to the bottom, nd pulled out one of the long tally sheets, the ind I had often seen used in the House, on which he names of all the members were printed and lso two column spaces, headed 'yea' and 'nay,' or recording the roll calls.

"It had figures marked against at least half of he names. He handed it to me, saying, in subtance, that it showed by whom the Raines bill ·as to have been beaten, and the figure each was o have received. Glancing at it hurriedly, I noiced the amounts ranged from $250 to $10,000, nd that there were two, and I am not now sure ut three, at the larger figure; and also that the otal was something over $67,000. Running my yes quickly over the names, I recall being not verwhelmed with surprise as to the most of them, ut reading one name, I pointed at it and reıarked with a gasp: 'What! that man?' To ·hich he listlessly replied: 'Yes, that man. Sitıng right where you do and across this table, he greed to vote for or against it for $500.'

"I pressed him to tell me how it happened that he bill passed, notwithstanding those hostile reparations. Much of his explanation was mere·7 confirmatory of what was matter of common umor among the members. It appears that after nding how much would be required to defeat,

$70,000 was raised among the brewers throughout the State, with Buffalo as the center of operations; that the money was brought from there to Albany, and nothing seemed surer than that the Raines bill was doomed.

"But they had reckoned without the 'Easy Boss,' who was then in the heyday of his power. He had set his mind upon passing the bill—for the good of the party. Learning that it was in this jeopardy, he had read the riot act in certain quarters, as coming direct from him, threatening, if the bill was defeated, a whole lot of criminal prosecutions for bribery would follow. It was enough. The only thing which could save the bill had happened. There was a scattering. The money was sent back to Buffalo, and all those graft promises were off.

"I have often heard the 'Easy Boss' cussed and discussed—simultaneously, as a rule—but his saving the Raines bill, with its high license, quieter Sunday and keeping the blinds-up features, always seemed to me particularly meritorious, for the Raines bill in its inception and infancy was considered a distinctly moral measure.

"Being a pretty firm believer in the benevolent despot, I do not find much fault with the boss system *per se*. My objection to bosses, in the main, is that they are usually of such poor stuff."

BENEFICENT RESULTS OF THE NEW LAW

The late H. H. Lyman, of Oswego, was made the rst Commissioner of Excise. Under his régime ıe chaotic conditions gradually began to disapear. Capable agents were appointed for the ollection of the tax and detecting violations of ıe law. They proved too few, and more were dded. Up to this day, in my judgment, there is ot a sufficient number of them, and I have ratched for and urged an increase, especially ince it has become apparent, from a nearly thirseen years' trial, that the local police do not enorce the law as it should be enforced.

One grand result, however, has been accomlished, and that is a tremendous increase in the evenue for both State and localities. When I ook at the aggregate receipts for 1907, the only vailable figures before me ($17,830,467.75), half f which went to the State and half to the t seems to me that as a revenue producer the aw has proved a remarkable success. It was argely due to the taking over of the excise deartments by the State, that during the Odell adinistration it was made possible to do away with irect taxation.

The so-called Raines law has proved so satisactory that no serious attempt has ever been ıade to repeal it. Our political opponents atacked it for a time after it went into operation. But when it proved such an effective revenue-

getter they quit. And to-day no one would dare to head a movement for its repeal.

RAINES' EULOGIUM

That my views were respected and appreciated at Albany during the controversy over the amendments to the excise law, let Senator Raines, whose name will ever be linked with it, testify. In his speech closing the debate in the Senate, when the original act was on its final passage, Senator Raines said: "The Democratic party has told the people that it was not intended to pass this bill; that it was simply a scheme of the man whom they designate as 'Boss Platt,' to compel contributions to the Republican campaign fund. It begins to dawn upon them that there may have been a slight mistake somewhere, and that Thomas C. Platt is not the man they took him for. To-day every Republican in the State, and every Democrat, too, knows and has no doubt about it, either, that whatever influence, be it greater or less, the Republican leader may have, it is used for the passage of this bill.

"I believe that no labor that he has performed will carry with it more beneficent results to the party to which he belongs, and to the people as well, or will more redound to the honor of Thomas Collier Platt, than his efforts to secure the passage of this bill.

"It has been said that Senator Miller does not

avor the bill because the tax is not high enough; nd I admit I have nowhere seen a denial of this rom him, though I doubt the accuracy of the statenent. Other gentlemen have been reported as bjecting to it because it does not meet their views n some slight particular. But I wish to remind hem that the years are before us in which amendnents may be made, if experience shall show them o be necessary. To-day, 'a condition, not a theory, onfronts us.' And I appeal to my Republican coleagues to overlook those matters in which the bill nay not be in accord with their views, and give heir support, as being a measure for the relief of he overburdened taxpayers of the State; a measure in the interest of the honest toilers and their lependent families; a measure in the interest of emperance, and which, whatever its defects may e, is, taken as a whole, for the best interests of he people, whose welfare is the supreme law."

The amendments came from time to time in he years that followed. Originally the act provided that the locality should realize two-thirds of the total revenue, while the State should take one-third. During the first administration of Governor Odell it was determined that there should be an equal division between the State and he localities, and that there should be an increase n the cost of the liquor tax certificate, so that the people could get rid of direct taxation. This plan finally prevailed, and, as I have heretofore stated, chiefly because of it, the State has since 1902 had

no direct taxes to pay, though it is building a hundred-million-dollar barge-canal and is setting aside five millions a year for the improvement of highways.

TREMENDOUS REVENUE PRODUCED

Senator Raines predicted at the time the legislation was under consideration, that not only would the cities which at first protested most vigorously against what they characterized as robbery for the benefit of up-country districts and a violation of the principle of home rule, realize many times their present revenue, with a consequent reduction in taxes, but that the net reduction in the number of liquor resorts would be great. Raines' prophecy has been fulfilled. The net receipts from licenses in 1895, the year before the new law went into effect, in thirty-one of the principal cities and towns, aggregated $3,423,493. Raines estimated that under the legislation contemplated, the total amount of receipts for the State would reach $13,793,425, if the same number of liquor dispensaries continued. Figuring that the number would be reduced by 40 per cent., he calculated that the net revenue would be at least $8,275,925, $5,500,286 of which was to go to the localities and $2,754,851 to the State.

The cities contended that Raines did not know what he was talking about. That even he did not realize what a stupendous addition would be made

) the revenue, eventually was disclosed by the fficial reports of the State. Under the old law, ccording to returns for 1896, the net revenues in ›calities where licenses were issued, aggregated nly $2,921.62; a year later, under the new law, the et revenues reached $10,449,829.84. For the year 897-98 there were $11,373,489.37; for 1898-99, 11,379,465.73; 1899-1900, $11,432,636.25; 1900-01, 11,435,963.98; 1901-02, $11,485,212.40; 1902-03, 11,694,521.57.

The 50 per cent. increase in the tax ordered n 1902, which put an end to direct taxation, ›ushed the annual receipts for 1903-04 to $16,643,-95.90; for 1904-05, $16,730,829.70; 1905-06, $17,-43,201.30; 1906-07, $17,489,316.42; and 1907-08, 17,830,467.75. The State's share of this was $9,-87,757.36, while that of the localities was $8,742,-'10.39. New York City, which received in 1895 nly $1,631,120 from license fees, realized $3,773,-71.88 in 1907-08. Kings (Brooklyn), which got nly $879,950 in 1895, got $1,713,837.20 in 1907-08. Buffalo, whose net receipts in 1895 were but $321,-60, realized the greater part of $666,673.13, ap-›ortioned to Erie County.

So much for the revenue-producing qualities of he excise law. For the benefit of those who be-ieve in restricting the number of resorts where iquor is sold, let me say that during the first year he Raines law became operative, 6,588 places were driven out of business. The number of icenses reported in force April 30, 1896, aggre-

gated 33,437. The number of liquor tax certificates in force April 30, 1907, under the new law, was 27,192.

TO STOP NEW YORK'S ILLEGAL VOTING

It was during the Morton administration, too, that the initial steps were taken to secure ballot reform. Out of them grew the prevailing secret system of voting which has been amended somewhat, but still retains many of its original features. Prior to the enactment of this legislation, which was also drawn at the Fifth Avenue Hotel "Sunday-school," and introduced by the late Lieutenant-Governor Charles T. Saxton and later amended by Senator Raines, there were cries from all over the State that New York elections were the most fraudulent and corrupt that could be conceived. While this may have been somewhat true as affecting the city of New York, where evidence was produced that from 25,000 to 40,000 crooked Democratic votes were cast at each contest, I never believed that the same accusations could be successfully maintained against the country districts.

The Democrats, particularly from the metropolis, bitterly fought the Saxton and later the Raines acts, intended to perfect the former. But by a party vote of both houses, the ballot reform bills were passed, and Governor Morton signed them. While no law that can be enacted can be regarded

s absolutely perfect, I sincerely believe that the lection laws of this State are as practicable and ısure as honest voting and counting, if enforced, s any in the world.

To Senator Raines is due the full credit for the resent blanket-ballot. It has insured not only ecrecy as to how a man votes, but has reduced nmeasurably the number of crooked votes, not nly in New York City, but in the State at large.

STATE SUPERVISION OF ELECTIONS

To the credit of the Black administration must ıe ascribed the creation of the State Bureau of Elections. The revelations of the Lexow and Mazet committees disclosed how incompetent and n league with election knaves were the Tammany ıolice. I concluded that if we could not have a State police, we would at least put a State curb n franchise roguery. So soon after Governor Black assumed office, there was enacted a law, reating a State Superintendent of Elections, with uthority to enforce the statutes framed to give he people an honest ballot and fair count.

John McCullagh, who, because of his sincere ndeavor to root out Deveryism, had been removed s Chief of Police by Mayor Van Wyck, was the irst head of the State Bureau. With the estab-ishment of it, frauds, while not actually wiped ıut, were greatly diminished. Had McCullagh ıeen retained long enough to completely organize

his bureau, I believe that less crimes against the election franchise would have been committed than happened after his decapitation, during the second term of the Odell administration.

Odell added the bureau to his political machine by putting out McCullagh, a stanch friend of mine, and substituting George W. Morgan. I did not notice any wholesale detection of registration or election rascality during the Morgan régime. Nor have I discovered any great improvement in the conduct of the bureau under the Hughes government. With a fearless, competent chief, the election bureau could be made a terror to the election thug. I am of the opinion that it would have proved so had Mr. McCullagh been retained.

A PIONEER IN RAPID TRANSIT PROJECTS

With no intent of detracting from the performances of others, I shall have to admit that I was among the pioneers seeking to provide genuine rapid transit for New York City. My attention was first called to the problem during the last term of Governor Hill's administration, which terminated in 1891.

A scheme was brought to me that had been thoroughly worked up by competent engineers and statisticians. The result of their work was submitted to me in the form of elaborate reports upon every phase of the question. I was very much impressed by the information contained in one

of these reports with reference to the increase
travel up and down town, and the absolute nec
sity for providing additional facilities of the m
comprehensive character to take care of the sar
I became convinced that simply keeping abre
of the normal increase of such travel made it n
essary to furnish new facilities each year adequ
to take care of twenty million passengers, ten n
lion each way. I also learned that this meant
construction of four new tracks every four or f
years. These figures were presented to me
furnishing an argument in favor of the reconstr
tion of the elevated structures; but on mature
flection I reached the conclusion that they f
nished the strongest kind of an argument agai
the proposition which I was asked to favor,
cause they demonstrated that the solution of
difficulty proposed was wholly inadequate an
mere makeshift. For this reason, and becaus
knew that there was very strong and, as I
lieved, justifiable opposition to further encroa
ment upon the city's streets by elevated str
tures, I refused to lend my support to the sche
proposed. But during the consideration of
subject my eyes had been opened to the imp
tance of finding some solution of the rapid tra
problem.

I therefore began to consider the subw
question.

The most serious difficulty about securing p
vate capital for the construction of subways

that time was the sharp difference of opinion among competent engineers as to the cost of constructing subways, the most doubtful item being the cost of earth excavation. All kinds of estimates were given of the cost of such excavation, varying between $7 and 60 cents per cubic yard. The reason for such a wide difference of opinion was that each engineer had in mind, in making his estimate, a different manner of doing the work. The low man proposed to do the work by open trench, the high man by "cut and cover." The low man paid no attention to the rights of the owners of sub-surface structures; the high man included a liberal allowance to cover the expense of maintaining such structures.

INITIAL RAPID TRANSIT BOARD

After listening to a great many opinions, varying all the way between extreme pessimism and extreme optimism, I reached the conclusion that it was important that the Legislature should take steps to secure the appointment of a Commission on Rapid Transit. A bill to accomplish this object was introduced by Senator Fassett, about the close of Governor Hill's last term. The general subject was discussed with the Governor and his friends, prior to the introduction of this bill, and I assumed that the bill would be supported by them. In its early stages it received a kind of lukewarm support from them, but at last they

ɔposed it vigorously. It passed the Senate as a ·epublican caucus measure, but was defeated ı the Assembly by two or three votes, owing to the ɜvolt of Messrs. Gibbs and Fish. Later, however, bill became law, which gave us the first Rapid 'ransit Commission that really began the build-ıg of underground railways.

Although my first attempt to secure subways ɔr New York was defeated, I did not lose my in-ɜrest in the subject, and I have continually since hat time done what I could to bring about sub-ɣay construction, because I am as sure as I can e of anything that the growth and prosperity of he city are dependent thereon.

The transit question with us is made particu-ɜrly difficult of solution because of the shape of Ianhattan Island, and the fact that the most im-ıortant business interests are located at or near he point of the leaf.

Although I have been an earnest advocate of ubways, I have never approved, and I do not now ,pprove, of the investment of public moneys herein, except upon terms and conditions which ntirely eliminate the possibility of loss. Pres-ure will always be brought to bear upon the city ,uthorities to build with public moneys subways o be used in the development of suburban lo-alities, whether the conditions are sufficiently fa-·orable to attract private capital or not.

CITY WILL ULTIMATELY OWN SUBWAYS

The plan embodied in the present Rapid Transit Act, which in effect gives to subway promoters the benefit of the city's credit, without subjecting the city to any danger of ultimate loss, if carried out in a broad-minded and intelligent way, will, within a period of time short in the life of a great city (fifty to seventy-five years), put the city in the possession and ownership of a magnificent system of subways, for which not a single dollar of public money will have been expended. This plan was first suggested by Mayor Hewitt, in a speech made by him before the Chamber of Commerce. Mr. Hewitt's views were received with genuine enthusiasm. They were supported by a popular vote, and the admirable commission of experienced business men appointed, known as the Orr Commission, for many years received general support from both political parties and from the press.

I think of my old friend, Commodore Starin, and the splendid work done by him. He has lately passed away, full of years and honors. I am sorry that he is not here to read this article. Mr. Orr, Mr. Smith, Mr. Rives, and, in fact, all the commissioners who had anything to do with the building of the subway system now in operation, the McAdoo tunnels and the Pennsylvania extension, are also entitled to the highest praise from their fellow citizens for their painstaking

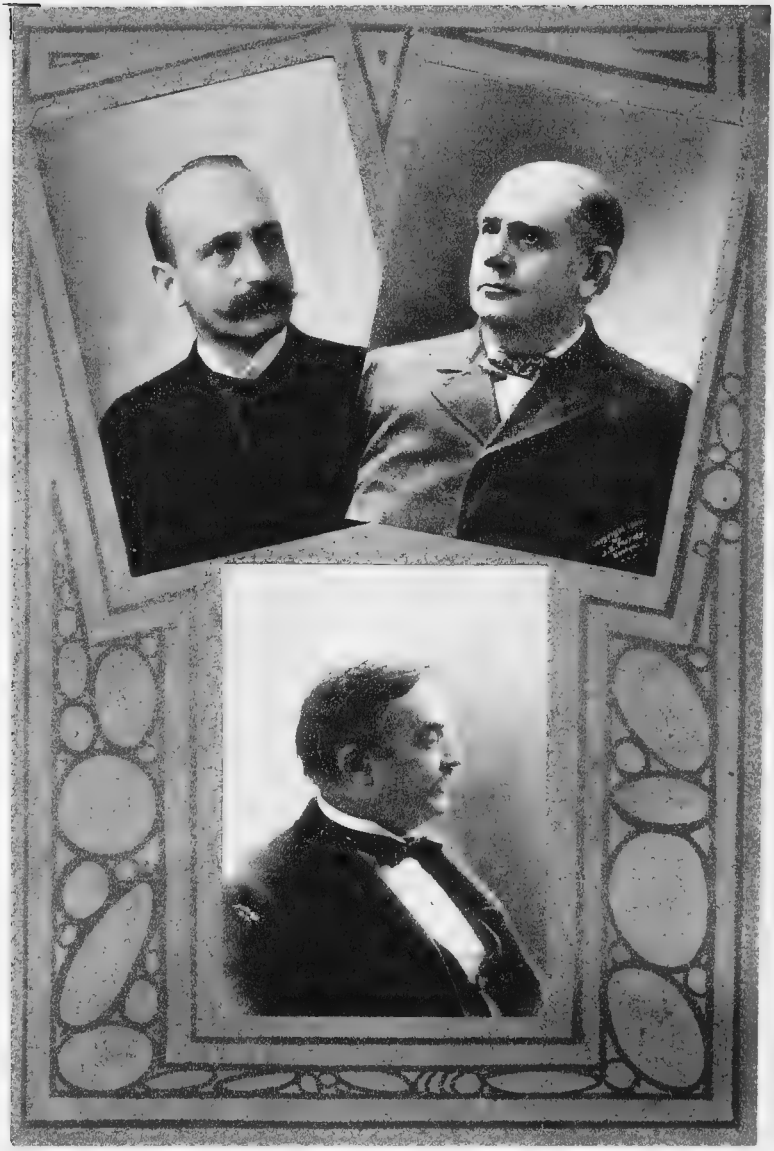
nd intelligent work in the public interest. The irect and indirect advantage to the city from this 'ork, viewed simply from the standpoint of dolırs and cents, without considering the greatly ıcreased comfort of the traveling public, must be ıeasured, not by millions, or even tens of mil-.ons. but bv hundreds of millions.

TRANSIT CHECKED BY LEGISLATION

Rapid transit progress has been temporarily hecked by the provisions of the Elsberg bill, the 'ublic Service Commissions bill, and the unfriendy attitude of the New York public toward rapid ransit promoters. While, of course, with the inormation which we now have, it may be possible o make better terms with contractors and lessees han those made by the late Rapid Transit Comnission with John B. McDonald, it must be clear o every thinking man:

First, that unless a proposed subway is suffiiently important to attract private capital, it ›ught not to be built; and second, that nothing vorth doing is to be accomplished until the minds ›f responsible promoters and the city's represenatives meet on some comprehensive and feasible ›lan of improvement.

Reckoning without your host is a sorry busiıess, and if a commission is so dignified that its ıctivities are limited to public hearings and news›aper discussion, it may produce a most volumiıous record of its proceedings, but it will build ıo new subways.



J. SLOAT FASSETT MARK A. HANNA

MATTHEW S. QUAY

CHAPTER XXIII

'he "Amen Corner"—Distinguished men with whom I have played political battledore and shuttlecock there—Presidents, Governors, U. S. Senators and other influential office-holders selected in the nook—Depew's and my farewell addresses at the "wake."

Few spots have ever been more hallowed to ıe than the "Amen Corner."

For the benefit of the uninitiated, let me say hat this was a celebrated niche in the corridor ·f the old Fifth Avenue Hotel, where from the lay this hostelry opened its doors in 1859, until 908, sat the most distinguished men of this and ther countries.

A newspaper friend, the late W. J. Chamber-in, of the New York *Sun,* gave it its name in a leverly written sketch some years before he fell .t the post of duty, after reporting the Boxer re-ellion in China. I assume that he adapted it rom Thackeray's description of the Amen Cor-ıers in Old England's churches.

On two benches, sometimes covered with green, nd sometimes with red plush, leaders of political, iterary and social thought, for nearly fifty years, ere accustomed to exchange their views. Many a

Governmental policy and many a candidate for office have been determined upon in the nook whose history has for almost a decade been commemorated by a series of annual dinners. A complete list of the illustrious personages with whom I have swapped opinions in the "Corner" would probably tax this entire volume. They include Presidents, Vice-Presidents, Governors and other State officers, National and State legislators, mayors, financiers, army and navy officers, professional men of every type, to say nothing of foreign potentates, like the present King of England.

PRESIDENTS WHO HAVE LOLLED THERE

I have consulted there with Presidents Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Harrison, McKinley and Roosevelt, and with James G. Blaine, who ought to have been President. I have listened there to tales of sanguinary battles from the lips of Generals Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Meade, Burnside, McDowell, Kearney, Kilpatrick, Furlong, Johnston, Longstreet and other Union and Confederate Hectors.

On one of these benches, Roscoe Conkling and myself used to plan our campaigns. It was there that we talked over our offensive and defensive contests between Republicans and Democrats, Stalwarts and Half-breeds. It was there that I made up my mind to support Blaine for President in 1884, and Harrison in 1888. It was there

hat Quay, Clarkson, Alger, Fessenden and myself oncluded in 1892 to uphold Blaine and not Harrion. In the same place I pledged Morton my support for Governor in 1894 and for President in 896.

It was in this "Corner" that Roosevelt and I oined one another after we had in my private partments decided that he should be my candilate for Governor in 1898. And it was there that he program to make him Vice-President and ultinately President was contrived.

It was in the same pews that members of my Sunday political school class used to assemble beore and after the sessions in my rooms. And t was there that the preliminary plans were laid or all the vital legislation enacted at Albany for quarter of a century.

On one of these settees, Frank Hiscock, Chauney M. Depew and myself were practically deternined upon for United States Senators in 1887, 897 and 1899, respectively. On one of them General Benjamin F. Tracy was first suggested for Mayor of New York in 1897. While seated there received the news of the election of William L. Strong and Seth Low, the only Republicans elected Mayor of New York since the seventies.

Not all the "Ameners" have been Republicans, however. Non-partisanship, so far as it had to lo with occupying the benches, except on stated lays for Republican conferences, was ever one of he cardinal principles of the brethren.

"Uncle Sammy" Tilden, Arthur Pue Gorman, and Calvin S. Brice were frequent visitors to the "Corner." John Kelly, Richard Croker and Charles F. Murphy, the Tammany leaders; and Senator Patrick H. McCarren, the Kings County Democratic leader, have lolled upon the cushions and played political battledore and shuttlecock with myself and other Republicans.

What tales those benches could recite had they the power of speech! Indeed, they could give one the most accurate history of the politics of this State, and much of that of the nation since Fort Sumpter was fired upon.

MY LAST PERCH ON THE BENCH

The last time I occupied one of the benches was during the "wake" ceremonies of April 4, 1908. Then, with Senator Depew and Chairman Woodruff, of the Republican State Committee, flanking me, my portrait was taken, and we all made speeches and drank a last glass together with "Old Guardsmen." When the Fifth Avenue was dismantled, the benches were carefully installed in the Hoffman House corridor.

I never could bring myself to squat there. I prefer to fondly recall the traditional lounging place where the arbiters of the fortunes of both political parties met on fair terms and inaugurated or settled contests, and then rehearsed them all over again.

It was a day of mourning when the dear Fifth Avenue was obliterated. Those who hand down unscathed to our children and to children's children, the benches we loved so mu will receive the blessing of one whom the b have repeatedly told me is "The Origi Amener."

Perhaps I cannot more appropriately close t chapter than to quote from speeches delivered myself and Senator Depew at the "wake." confess there were tears in my eyes, and I repe edly choked as I tried to say:—

MY GOOD-BY TO THE "CORNER"

Any effort, the very slightest, to express w I feel at the thought of the removal of the l toric landmark which was my home for all thirty-three years, would compel me to take seat in silence, so I must avoid that subject a assume a cheerfulness which I have not got. T noble edifice, in its day one of the most impos in our city, even now in its majestic simplicity good to look at. It is the privilege of elderly g tlemen, to which distinction I may soon aspire, resent the rude way that progress has of turn things upside down; and although the structu which is to take the place of this one may bigger and grander and more in keeping w these latter days, I shall doubt whether it will so much associated with history and affairs.

The Fifth Avenue Hotel has entertained in its day a larger number of the great of the earth whose plans for social and commercial enterprises and improvements were here matured and executed, than has any other house in America. But perhaps its chief fame will remain in its long association with the Republican party. Sitting in the "Amen Corner," which may never be revived, one's vision extended from Montauk Point to Buffalo, and it is no idle boast to say that it was the judgment that collected in the "Amen Corner" and there threshed out the issues of the day, which for a period of many years directed the destinies of the State of New York, wrote its statutes, and decreed all its important acts of government. I shall not take this time to consider whether the changes that have latterly occurred are reforms or otherwise.

It may be that one-man government is at all times the best, or that to elect a single instrument of the public will, upon the understanding that he shall run things as the newspapers ordain, is the policy of perfection; but at all events, nobody can take away from the Fifth Avenue Hotel the fame that it for years enjoyed as the place where from every city and county in this State there came, met and conferred the strongest minds in the Republican party, and the place from which, after their combined judgment had been finally reached, there went a sentiment in accordance with which popular judgment was molded and put into effect.

That sentiment, born, as I said, of the la experience and considerate judgment of the po lar leaders who composed the Republican org zation, and who habitually assembled here, from here dispersed throughout this State wit common purpose and an harmonious understa ing, *has made and unmade Presidents and G ernors, has determined platforms and poli both in the State and the Nation, and has e cised a controlling influence upon affairs fo period of time within which the Republican pa achieved its greatest successes and the people the State their largest measure of prosper That is a glory which will be associated with spot for many years to come.*

Then Senator Depew, the youngest old ma ever knew, clambered upon the bench and, a the yells of the "Old Guard," told just what "Amen Corner" meant, and "what it had don Senator Depew said:

SENATOR DEPEW'S SPEECH

My dear old friends: I have sat on this be on and off for forty years, but I never stood it. I have heard many great questions discus at different times, and one of them was as to w was the capital of this country. The capital been this "Corner."

I know Governors who thought they did thi

from the Executive Chamber; but they were done from the "Amen Corner." I know speakers who are looked to for the make-up of committees from the lower house of the Legislature. They said they would consult with the members of their families in the rural regions, and I have found that the families they consulted were Senator Platt in the "Amen Corner." I have known conventions where the 900 delegates thought they would make up the State ticket themselves; but they received their inspiration from the plush seats in the "Amen Corner." Many a man who sat on these benches thought he would be Governor, and was glad to get the nomination for Assembly. I speak from the venerableness of old age. (Shout: "No, you don't! Years don't count; now what counts is your condition.")

Historic memories like this should be preserved. I saw Blaine, Conkling, Grant and Arthur sit here. I have seen this "Corner" filled with men in uniforms, but at other times by men who wanted to be decorated with uniforms. I do not believe there will ever be a spot in the State or country where so much of influence and power will go out to make for history as the "Amen Corner."

CHAPTER XXIV

larkson's analysis of my leadership—Lenient and forgiving, rather than revengeful, I have been an "Easy Boss" and "keep no book of hates."

General James S. Clarkson recently made this ıalysis of my career:

In seeking to rule New York, Mr. Platt had :st, at the establishment of his power, to make mself the leader of all leaders. This his critics lmit he has done. Having thus become the ac-ıpted leader of leaders, he became responsible ıd remained responsible in the large part for l that the State as a State has done since.

A rigid inspection of the leaders who followed m shows them to be men of such high class, in ıblic ability and personal worth, that they may .emselves be called in corroboration and proof .at he has always called and accepted the best ıd strongest men of his party to his support and ›ver demeaned himself or his great purposes by ıilding up his power on men who have simply ıllowed him as parasites, "because," as Juvenal .id, "of being taken with the smell of his tchen."

The great skill of Grant was in choosing his generals and in organizing his army. After that, as he has said, nothing could defeat him.

Much the same has been Platt's skill in his political organization and the contests he has made. Grant did not lead in all the successful battles under him. He selected and directed the men who did. Platt has not led personally in all his hundred contests and his hundred victories, but he has led in the most of them, and has chosen and supported the leaders who won the others.

It is asserted that he has ruled with such a strong hand, that he has personally selected the members making up a majority of every Republican Legislature in recent years; also every State official, and every judge who has been elected in Republican districts or appointed by Republican Governors; that he has asserted his way even in the choice of city and county officers, and that by these arbitrary and revolutionary methods he has changed a former Democratic State into a permanent Republican State. It is also insisted that his strong hand has passed over all the State institutions of charity, reform, industry, and what not, and brought them into a line of similar character with the Legislature, the State officials and the courts.

LEGISLATION BETTER AND PROGRESSIVE

As to the Legislature, we find that in recent years the State and all its public institutions, ambitions and methods have been changed into new and better courses; all the new legislation has been progressive; the complexion and habit of things changed at Albany; the lobby banished from the State House, and a new system of check and balance, as between the people and the corporations, for the better protection of the public, established; the State's corporation laws revised and liberalized; the laws of taxation greatly improved; legislation made much cleaner and more open; the custom of giving all interests public hearings before the proper Legislative committees; the capacity and efficiency of the State's various institutions increased, and also the kindness of many of them toward helpless or suffering inmates; the financial policies of the State wisely nurtured into all that modern financiering can ask, or the interests of the people require; the great legislation accomplishing the Greater New York, fairly to be called Mr. Platt's personal work, and to stand for time to his credit; and the laws for the control of the liquor traffic completely revised, the tax made so high that the number of saloons has been reduced by over eight thousand and over sixty millions of dollars in five years brought to the State from this interest that before largely escaped its just share of taxation.

It took moral courage and personal pluck to oppose this powerful and desperate element and put a curb in its mouth. But Mr. Platt quietly faced the actual personal dangers as one of his Revolutionary grandfathers would have faced them; just as he has faced the demand to let the saloons of New York City be open on Sundays, and all others in the State closed.

[General Clarkson referred to threats upon my life during the battle over the Raines liquor tax law, which caused my friends to employ detectives to protect me night and day.]

Record and truth acquit Mr. Platt and the Legislatures of all the charges made against them, and acquit the people of the State, in indorsing him and the Assemblies year by year, of having been wrong in doing so; and leave the accusers of him and them discredited and impeached on their own chosen ground of trial and proof. In the whole Legislative field, so much railed against, and charged so much with being corrupt, not even his worst enemies point out specifically any good legislation that Mr. Platt has not favored, nor any bad legislation that he has not opposed.

FOUR GREAT GOVERNORS

The most of the complaints in regard to Mr. Platt have been in respect of four Governors. These Governors, whom he has been charged with having personally selected and forced on the State,

re Levi P. Morton, an ex-Vice-President of the Inited States, one of the first American gentlemen, financiers and philanthropists; Mr. Black, f such personal ability and power and courage s to win and keep the State's highest regard; Colonel Roosevelt, the untamed and untamable, ever possible of being made bridlewise to any ıan's reins—the strenuous man of the new times, o whose usefulness the future alone sets the limit; nd Governor Odell, who, by the very strength of rst taking hold as well as by the immediate demnstration of uncommon ability and courageous urpose, won at once the faith of the State and he confidence and admiration of the people.

It is a splendid lot of Governors that Mr. Platt as personally given to the State—great, strong ıen, who conducted the business of the State on he highest plane, and without the least of scandal r reproach.

The assertion that Mr. Platt is revengeful in ature, and that people who opposed him in polics, or in his own party, have had to meet his nmity ever after, is met with abundant and strikng proofs exactly to the contrary. The greater laces under recent Federal administrations held y New York men, were occupied by those who ıad always, and sharply, and not always chivalously, opposed Mr. Platt; such as Joseph H. Choate, Horace Porter and Elihu Root.

Mr. Choate was made Ambassador to England y Mr. Platt's favor and request. Mr. Porter was

made Ambassador to France by his favor and request, and Mr. Root Secretary of War, through Mr. Platt's suggestion and request. President Roosevelt was almost steadily a fighter against Platt; yet Mr. Platt chose him for Governor of New York, urged his entrance upon the contest and prevented his retirement from the lists just a few days before the convention, as Colonel Roosevelt was then determined to do.

Indeed, it is nearer true that Mr. Platt, in his nature, is trusting rather than distrustful; credulous rather than superstitious; and lenient and forgiving rather than revengeful. In all his traits or laws of character, he is more inclined to err on the side of forgiving enmity or wrong, rather than nursing up revenge or keeping a book of hates.

General Clarkson's encomiums, deserved or not, cause me to recall with the profoundest fraternal affection the splendid body of American citizens with whom I have associated. Of them I will deal in a separate chapter.

CHAPTER XXV

en I have made and unmade—Great array of distinguished Presidents, Governors and other officials the New York organization has furnished Nation and State—Those disrated who posed as "Holier than Thou's—Field-marshals who were loyal in victory or disaster.

I HAVE been accused of making some men and making others. That is a charge frequently tered against any one who has possessed litical power.

I have always believed that a political organi-tion should be as well disciplined as the army d the navy. An officer of either, who proves un-thful, is sure of punishment. The traitor is rely treated with mercy. Nor should he be in a litical organization.

My title of "Easy Boss" came to me unso-ited. I assume that those responsible for its ation were convinced that I never knowingly licted chastisement upon any member of the ganization or member of the party, without first roughly acquainting myself with the facts in-lved in his offense.

A political organization should be conducted

WILLIAM H. TAFT

n the simplest principles of business. Merit devotion should be rewarded. Demerit and ıchery should be condemned and examples le of those guilty of them. I have always mainıed that a majority rather than a minority of organization should control the party and its .cy. Whenever I have been in the minority, I e acquiesced in the decrees of the majority. en in the majority, I have invariably contended t the minority should yield to the majority.

)uring an experience of over fifty years in poli-, I have learned that obedience to instructions l gratitude are about as scarce as snow in the ;-days. In choosing my lieutenants and candiies, I invariably insisted upon the qualification t the man must know enough to "stand when ;hed." The list of those who have ignored or ied this rule would fill a large volume. And t has made it necessary for me, as an organiza-ı chief, to reluctantly and sometimes merciless-ıdminister punishment to a subordinate. Only this way can the discipline of any body of men enforced.

found this to be the case in the construction l maintenance of my first village machine, in late fifties, as well as in the establishment and ding together of the great State machine, which, ing as a unit, transformed New York from a mocratic into an impregnable Republican ›raltar.

FASSETT'S INSUBORDINATION

Among the numerous instances of chastisement I was forced to apply, none gave me more regret and pain than when I was called upon to deal with J. Sloat Fassett, of Chemung. Attracted by his ability and energy, I early in the eighties brought about his nomination and election as State Senator from the Chemung-Steuben District. He displayed such devotion and aggressiveness in forwarding the interests of the Republican organization, that within a few years he was the recognized Republican floor-leader of the upper house at Albany. In the give-and-take battles with David B. Hill, then the Democratic Governor, Fassett proved himself exceedingly clever. Rare, indeed, was it that the skilful politician on the second floor of the Capitol was not "hoist by his own petard," and his schemes to manufacture capital for himself and his party balked by the tact and parliamentary adeptness of the young man from Elmira, from which city, by the way, Hill himself hailed.

When a Tammany carnival of corruption prevailed in New York City, I chose Fassett to head the Legislative committee that probed it. He handled the investigations so intelligently that the Tammany rogues were driven to cover, and legislation was enacted that remedied many of the wrongs from which citizens of the metropolis suffered. I saw that Fassett was rewarded by an

›pointment as Collector of the Port of New York, .e most desirable office within the gift of the resident.

Fassett's ambition was, however, to be Gov- ·nor. With misgivings as to its expediency, I :ought about his nomination in 1891. He was ɜfeated, as I feared he would be. Three years .ter, determined that no risk should be taken in ıe selection of candidates, I picked Levi P. Mor- ›n for Governor. Fassett protested that he alone 'as entitled to the nomination. He called upon ıe at my Broadway office and rebuked me for ɜfusing to give him another chance to run.

My answer was substantially: "Sloat, I am as ›nd of you personally as I am of my own sons. cordially appreciate all you have done for the arty and the organization. You have been fre- uently honored by that party. You had a chance › be Governor two years ago. You failed of lection. You are young and can afford to wait. Ve cannot take any chances this year. Just be atient a while and you will secure a higher honor ıan that of Governor."

Fassett angrily retorted: "I will be nominated nd elected Governor in spite of you. I shall go › the State Convention and beat you and Morton here."

HOW THE MORTON CAR CRUSHED HIM

With this parting fling Fassett rushed out of my presence. He did attend the State Convention. But the Morton car rolled over him.

Enraged because of his defeat, Fassett began to organize a machine of his own to smash the regular organization. I placed Colonel Archie E. Baxter in charge of the regular organization forces in the Chemung District, and for a number of years Fassett was an inconsequential factor in politics, where he had been a power. Years passed. Fassett finally became tired of being disciplined. He came to me and besought my influence to make him a member of the State Committee. He promised to "be good," and was made a member of the State Committee. Later, he, through my influence, was nominated and elected to Congress, where he is sitting now.

Had Fassett kept in the traces in 1894, he undoubtedly would have been nominated and elected Governor or Vice-President in 1896. Few incidents of my career have given me more pain than Fassett's conduct. We are now very good friends, however, and Fassett, I believe, realizes fully as well as I do what a blunder he committed in proving ungrateful and insubordinate to those who did most to elevate him to places of political influence and power.

MALCONTENTS MUST BE BRUSHED ASIDE

George William Curtis was one of those w stood for a clique in the party. It was a sm minority. And yet he urged that it must rule. was repeatedly defeated in the primaries. Aga the element led by Curtis many times refused participate in the primaries. Yet it was in tendance upon party conventions, noisily demai ing recognition and threatening to knife the ticl if men were nominated and a platform adopt that did not suit it. Naturally, the organi tion resented this and brushed such malconte aside.

William H. Robertson and James J. Belc were also typical illustrations of the point I sire to make. Both usually represented a minor in the organization or the party. Both were c stantly plotting to force nominations of their ov When beaten, they had a habit of returning their districts and rallying their friends, not the support of the regularly selected ticket, l to a secret or open support of the Democra nominees. The organization saw to it that af his retirement as Collector of the Port of N York, Robertson got no further than a seat the State Senate.

Belden, by the employment of a fortune, a combinations with the Democrats of Ononda County, managed to hold a chair in Congress f several terms. But he never advanced beyo

that, and he died at a time when he could not control his home district.

Warner Miller was another who so long as he and his friends dominated the organization, was merciless in his methods of discipline against anybody who disagreed with him. When he became a minority leader, he kept conniving against the leaders in power, and seemed to prefer that Democrats should win rather than Republicans he did not like.

WARNER MILLER'S PUNISHMENT

Men like Titus Sheard, once Speaker of the Assembly, soon got tired of such practices. After a few years he succeeded in depriving Miller of control of his resident Herkimer district. Nor did he ever recover it.

Henry G. Burleigh, popularly known as the "Bounding Burleigh," was still another who, while his faction was in the ascendancy, was as loyal as any man could ask to the Republican candidates. But when the organization had others than his friends as leaders, somehow the Republican vote in Washington County dwindled immeasurably. So we had to put Isaac V. Baker in Burleigh's place. After that the Republican vote in Washington so increased that it became known as one of the banner Republican counties of the State.

Jacob Worth, who for years was one of the ablest leaders that ever headed the Kings County

rganization, suddenly imagined that he was bigger than the State organization. He was detected etting together a movement for the undoing of ıen responsible for his elevation. That could not e tolerated. So the State organization concluded ɔ deputize Timothy L. Woodruff to "cut the round from under Worth's feet." And he did o. The change eventually changed Kings County rom a Democratic to a Republican stronghold.

Smith O'Brien for a long time sought to make ;ood in Albany County. It ultimately became apıarent that unless a change were made in the eadership there, Albany was hopeless. The organization chose William Barnes, Jr., as his successor. Almost immediately the young men clusered about Barnes. They took the county, which ıad been a Democratic Gibraltar almost from war days, away from such leaders as David B. Hill, Daniel Manning and D. Cady Herrick. For ıearly a decade it has been as certainly Republi:an as St. Lawrence.

James W. Husted was still another type of man who felt himself greater than the organization. While Speaker of the Assembly, he affiliated with the Half-breeds and fought everything that savored of Stalwarts and Stalwartism. When the Stalwarts became masters of the organization, Husted declined to accept the verdict. He soon began to go down, down, down. At his death, he could scarcely hold his home district in Westchester County.

James M. E. O'Grady, of Monroe, was made Speaker of the Assembly by the organization. He made up his mind that he was superior in power and intelligence to the men who put him there. Among these was George W. Aldridge, leader of the Monroe organization. O'Grady plotted to crush Aldridge. Instead, O'Grady was crushed. After a brief term in Congress, he was forced out of politics as an influential factor.

BROOKFIELD DIES SHORN OF POWER

William Brookfield was made chairman of the Republican County Committee of New York by the organization vote. He was elevated to the chairmanship of the State Committee by the same element. Then Brookfield sought to deliver the organization to men who had fought it most desperately. This the organization would not suffer. It supplanted him and made Charles W. Hackett State chairman. That ended Brookfield politically. He formed several anti-organization associations and tried to secure revenge. He failed most lamentably. I regret to say that Brookfield died without having restored himself to the confidence of the leaders who lifted him to the high places he once occupied.

Cornelius N. Bliss once inaugurated a campaign against the regulars, too. He began it in New York County. After he had it, as he thought, pretty well established, it was captured, body and

reeches, by the regular organization. Later, Bliss ecame a good regular. He was made Secretary f the Interior by President McKinley. Since his etirement from that office he has maintained cor- ial relations with the organization powers.

NO APOLOGIES FOR "MACHINE-MADE" OFFICIALS

While I was leader, and since, "Goo-Goos" eemed to regard it a smart thing to belt the or- anization, or "machine," as they called it, as nherently bad, and incapable of performing pub- ic service. My answer to that is that an organiza- ion that has given to the nation two such Presi- lents as Chester A. Arthur and Theodore Roose- elt, ought not to be despised.

An organization that has given to New York State Governors Alonzo B. Cornell, Levi P. Mor- on, Frank S. Black, Theodore Roosevelt, Benj. B. Odell, Jr., and Frank W. Higgins; and such Lieutenant-Governors as Charles T. Saxton, Tim- thy L. Woodruff, M. Linn Bruce, and Horace White, does not need to make apologies.

An organization that elevated to the Court of Appeals Bench such able jurists as Charles J. Folger, Charles Andrews, Benj. F. Tracy, Edward T. Bartlett, Albert Haight, Celora E. Martin, Irv- ng G. Vann, William E. Werner, Emory A. Chase, nd Frank H. Hiscock, is surely entitled to the ommendation of the people.

An organization that chooses and elects such ex-

cellent Supreme Court Justices as John Woodward, Walter Lloyd Smith, Albert H. Sewell, Chester M. McLaughlin, Henry T. Kellogg, William D. Dickey, Edward B. Thomas, Joseph A. Burr, Alden Chester, George F. Lyon, Nathan L. Miller, Henry B. Coman, Frederick W. Kruse, and Alfred Spring, is certainly not lacking in appreciation of what is required to insure a correct interpretation of the laws and absolute equity in their dispensation.

An organization that elects men of the calibre and attainments of Edwin D. Morgan, Roscoe Conkling, Frank Hiscock, Chauncey M. Depew, and Elihu Root to the U. S. Senate, has no atonement to make.

An organization that sends to the House of Representatives such spokesmen as James S. Sherman, now Vice-President; Sereno E. Payne, Republican floor-leader of the House of Representatives; William M. Calder, J. Van Vechten Olcott, Hamilton Fish, Edward B. Vreeland, Michael E. Driscoll, Benjamin Fairchild, George N. Southwick, John W. Dwight, George R. Malby, of the present membership, many of whom have sprung into prominence during the past twenty years, has reason to be proud of its discrimination.

I think it will hardly be disputed that I have had something to do with picking out nearly all the high officials just enumerated. And I am not ashamed to confess it.

Nor have I anything to seriously regret in the

ping of the organization of our State Legisla-
es. In 1873 Alonzo B. Cornell was made speak-
He was succeeded by James W. Husted. My
ends chose George H. Sharpe in 1880 and 1881;
us Sheard in 1884; George Z. Erwin in 1885;
emont Cole in 1888 and 1889; George R. Malby
1894; Hamilton Fish, in 1895-6; James M. E.
Grady in 1897-8, and S. Fred. Nixon, who served
itinuously from 1899 to and including 1905.
With the death of Speaker Nixon, than whom
abler men ever presided over the Assembly, I
sed interest in officering the Legislature, pre-
ring to relegate that task to younger and per-
ps wiser men.

FIELD-MARSHALS WHO WERE FAITHFUL.

I could not forgive myself, did I omit to pro-
ince a benediction on some of the field-marshals
o, in victory or defeat, exhibited fighting quali-
s and a devotion that endeared them all to me.
many of them have there been, that I confess I
in a serious quandary how to mention any
thout giving the entire roster. With no desire
r intent to disparage the invaluable services
ndered by hundreds, yea, thousands of my
mer lieutenants, I would like to bear witness to
skilful and loyal worth of State Chairmen
arles W. Hackett, William Brookfield until he
ired and became County Chairman, and George
Dunn; Executive State Chairman William

Barnes, Jr.; National Committeemen William A. Sutherland, Frederick S. Gibbs, and George R. Sheldon; State Committeemen William W. Worden, Isaac V. Baker, Louis F. Payn, Cornelius Van Cott, Frank Witherbee, J. B. H. Mongin, John F. Parkhurst, and Lemuel Ely Quigg; and these chairmen of the New York County Committee: George R. Bidwell, Charles H. Murray, Jacob M. Patterson, Edward Lauterbach, Lemuel E. Quigg, Robert C. Morris, and M. Linn Bruce.

Nor must I forget the unswerving fealty of Presidents *pro tem.* of the Senate Timothy E. Ellsworth and John Raines, and the fearless band of legislators they so many years led in the upper legislative branch; nor Speaker S. Fred Nixon.

Gen. Clarkson must have had these devoted lieutenants in mind when he testified to their high class, personal ability and worth. With such brainy, true staff officers, what leader could have ultimately failed to be successful?

I have outlived a number of my marshals. Those who died on the field of battle, carried with them to the tomb the gratitude of their commander.

To those who are still on earth, I beg to renew my acknowledgments of a loyalty that I shall cherish until I, too, am summoned hence.

In concluding these memoirs, I wish to testify my heart-felt appreciation of the honor paid me by the Republican legislators last January (1909), when they so fervently re-echoed the "God bless Thomas Collier Platt!" sentiment uttered by John

:aines, in placing in nomination Elihu Root as ıy successor in the U. S. Senate.

AMEN!

I was more than touched by the demonstration. Ly devout desire is that when I am no longer ıortal, others than Raines and my Legislative riends can and will sincerely say: "God bless Thomas Collier Platt!"

In the words of the immortal Lincoln: "With ıalice toward none—with charity for all," I now ay aside my pen.

FINIS

ADDENDA

PLATT, THE PRESIDENT-MAKER AND FINANCIER

If Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, made three
ngliish kings, Thomas Collier Platt made four
'residents of the United States and four Gov-
rnors of New York.

How Platt did it is revealed in memoirs, which,
pon his death, March 6 last, he bequeathed to his
'Old Guard."

In these memoirs, the American Warwick lays
are intrigues contrived by him during fifty-three
ears spent in the political arena.

He frankly and boldly discloses National and
tate secrets hitherto only dreamed of, except by
hose in his immediate confidence.

Platt traces his gradual rise from a Fremont
ampaign troubadour in 1856, to the absolute dic-
atorship of the Republican party in the East.
Ie tells of the influential leaders he made and
nmade.

The crafty methods to which he resorted to
ake Garfield, Harrison, McKinley and Roosevelt
'residents; Morton, Black and Odell Governors;

and Roosevelt Governor and Vice-President, are disclosed in a unique and masterful manner.

His quarrels with Presidents Garfield, Hayes and Harrison, and Governors Black and Odell, are candidly described.

The humanity of one popularly presumed to be merely a cold-blooded, conniving politician is divulged through the reproduction of songs, poems and stories composed and written by him.

These memoirs had their real inception and inspiration during a visit paid by the writer to Senator Platt in 1904. Then Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., had, as he believed, completely crushed the leader who had lifted him out of obscurity, twice elevated him to the Governorship, and trustfully surrendered to him the management of the Republican machine. Governor Odell having just driven, as he thought, the last nail into Platt's political coffin, by throwing Colonel George W. Dunn, the Senator's most loyal friend, out of the chairmanship of the State Committee, and arrogating that place to himself, sought to further humiliate his erstwhile chief by attempting to force the nomination of Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, for Vice-President. Senator Platt had, after what he conceived to be a personal unequivocal pledge of support from Odell, guaranteed the vote of the New

'ork delegation to the Chicago convention to his olleague, Senator Charles W. Fairbanks, of ndiana.

ENRAGED AT ODELL'S PERFIDY

He was inexpressibly grieved, and later en-'aged, on being apprised that Odell was backing 'or Roosevelt's running mate the present Speaker ›f the House of Representatives.

"Is this more of Odell's perfidy? Is he not con-ent with years of treachery to the men who made ıim, and with the accomplishment of their down-'all through his usurping the title of Governor-Chairman? No matter what Odell may do or say, 'airbanks will be nominated for Vice-President," vas Senator Platt's furious comment.

Senator Platt was then lost in meditation for moment. Turning to the writer, he exclaimed mpressively: "Some day I intend to tell some tories which I would tell now, did I not love the Republican party so dearly. My affection for that ›arty and its principles, my constant heart-felt .esire that it shall continue united and harmoni-us, and repeat its victories in State and nation, re the sole reasons why I am very unwillingly ıute at this time. A year hence I may be ready o break my silence. Come to me then, and we

will get up something that I think will at least reveal some political truths and prove interesting reading," added Senator Platt with an emphatic nod.

Platt went to Chicago and thwarted Odell's effort to name Cannon; made certain of Fairbanks' nomination, and later threw himself resolutely into what proved his final National and State campaigns. He saw to it that Roosevelt and Fairbanks, and Higgins and Bruce, swept the State of New York. After that, owing to physical disability, he retired from active politics, and confined himself merely to the performance of his duties as Senator and president of the United States Express Company.

During the fall of 1905, Senator Platt and the writer collaborated in preparing the first instalment of his reminiscences. The copy mysteriously disappeared from the office of a magazine which was to publish them. It was never traced. In April of 1909, the *Cosmopolitan* produced some notes from the Platt scrap-book.

THE "OLD GUARD'S" DEMAND

There followed a fervent and imperative demand from members of the "Old Guard" that the Senator should tell the whole story of his

·eer, and make it a legacy to the political war-
rs who had fought and bled with him in his
y years' battle for Republican supremacy. The
nator directed me to resume work. At inter-
ls during eight months, I assisted him in the
k of preparing this autobiography for print.
·. Platt had, during the half century he
ured in political history, preserved reams of
moranda dealing with the stirring events in
ich he had been a participant. So numerous
d so seemingly essential were all the incidents
Senator had collected, that the chief embar-
ssment was how to adequately describe them in
ingle volume.

Senator Platt's insistence was that the recol-
tions should appear in a modest, moderate-
ed book, as a truthful and accurate narrative
the most striking features of his record. A
mplete history would fill many volumes like
s. It is to be regretted that many experiences,
cause of lack of space, must be overlooked. But
granting me the exclusive right to arrange for
publication of the book, the Senator said to
:

"Whatever others may say or think, members
my 'Old Guard' will, I know, agree that I have
concisely as possible recited the truth, and

nothing but the truth. The truth requires no defense from them, nor from me. The unvarnished facts are here, no matter who may dispute them. Please get them before the public with all convenient speed."

Though Senator Platt devoted many a laborious hour to writing, rearranging, polishing and approving the manuscript, my sincere sorrow is that he passed to his Creator before it could be circulated in finished book form. His achievements were so notable and nation-wide that the instant rumor became current that he was about to issue his memoirs, a number of magazines and other publications sought serial rights. The book could not be put out until the serial extracts had appeared in print.

My acquaintance with Senator Platt really began in 1884, though he and my father were intimate when both were residents of Tioga County, N. Y. I met him at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, a few days prior to the Republican National Convention of that year, when I sought from him an interview for the New York *World* as to his preference for the Presidency. Senator George F. Edmunds, of Vermont; General John A. Logan, of Illinois; Theodore Roosevelt and George William Curtis, of New York, had just concluded a

›nference at the Fifth Avenue, and decided that ıe New York delegation must support Edmunds ıd Logan as the ticket to be named at Chicago. had, as had all political reporters of that day, ›rmed the opinion that Platt would support hester A. Arthur for a renomination. He as- ›unded me and my fellows by declaring un- ıuivocally for James G. Blaine, of Maine. Platt mphasized this by climbing to the stage of the 'hicago convention hall and seconding the nomi- ation of the "Plumed Knight." (This act, fol- ›wed as it was by placing Blaine and Logan in he field as the regular Republican Presidential nd Vice-Presidential nominees, in the judgment f political writers of the time, did more to clinch 'latt's hold on the New York State leadership han any other one event.)

"STRAIGHT NEWS" ALWAYS FROM HIM

Conkling, because of his hatred for Blaine, per- mptorily declined to attend the convention, or to n any way aid in the election of the man from Maine. Though Blaine was defeated by a very mall plurality, the loyal organization men ral- ied around Platt, proclaimed him leader, and 'rom 1884 to the day of his retirement we news- ›aper men were in the habit of calling on the

Senator for straight news about Republican party plans and policies. And we always got it straight. During the twenty years that Platt was the acknowledged and undisputed boss of the Republican machine, I never knew him to wilfully deceive any one. Almost daily, and surely every Sunday, when Platt was in town, it was the custom of New York City political writers, and during campaigns those from all the great cities in the country, to flock to his rooms, 278-280, at the Fifth Avenue, or to the "Amen Corner," described in these reminiscences, and get from the "boss" the "real Republican dope," as the boys stamped it.

Platt was to those who secured his confidence the most approachable, affable and communicative political leader one could meet. His forecasts as to nominations of both parties and election results were rarely in error.

"It's so because the 'old man' says so, and he never lies," was the constant aphorism employed by newspaper men who frequently sought information from the "boss."

HOW HE BECAME THE "EASY BOSS"

Those who labor under the delusion that Thomas Collier Platt was a heartless, calculating boss, do not, maybe, recall how he acquired the

title of "Easy Boss." The Senator related story to me about the time he was accused of lentlessly persecuting Warner Miller, who temporarily supplanted him in the United St Senate.

"I have very sweet authority for the staten that I am an 'Easy Boss,' " said the Senator, a happy smile. "A little news-girl, who said name was Winnie Horn, and who sells paper the West Twenty-third Street station of the road, complained to me one day that an Alder was trying to drive her out of business. I pr ised I would do what I could to help her. I ceeded in preventing the removal of her st Winnie was very grateful.

"On returning from my office one day, I ass the girl that everything was all right, and she would not be disturbed.

" 'I thank you so much, Senator Platt,' Winnie jubilantly. 'You're the Easy Boss, right! You're the Boss of the Elephant,' added as she all but hugged me in her happi

" 'My little friend,' I replied, 'I do not k that I am the "Boss of the Elephant," but I g you are perfectly right when you say I a "Easy Boss," though it never quite struck me way before.' "

Senator Platt's story soon went the round of political circles, and almost from the day he uttered it he was popularly referred to as the "Easy Boss."

Possibly William Barnes, Jr., in an editorial in the Albany *Evening Journal,* the day following Senator Platt's death, best described just why the title "Easy Boss" stuck to him to the finish.

EVER LOYAL AND TRUTHFUL

Barnes wrote:

"He was called the 'Easy Boss.' He led only in the direction the party was willing to go. He gave his party the benefit of his clear judgment, developed through the experience of years; but he never forced upon it his opinion against its will. He was stanchly loyal to all who trusted him and were his friends. He was always truthful. Deceit was foreign to his nature. He gave a promise only after deliberation, and then it was a bond, never to be defaulted. He knew human nature, and shaped his actions by that knowledge. His dealings with men were as man to man, on the level of equals, never as between one who arrogates to himself a superior plane and arbitrarily places others on a plane below. His loyalty, his unvarying good faith, his intensely human quali-

ties—these were the source of such power as wielded, of the influence which he had over ı and affairs."

That Platt was not only an "Easy Boss," b "Forgiving Boss," and, as General Clark testifies, "kept no book of hates," is abunda exemplified in his treatment of Republicans once execrated him. Theodore Roosevelt, bitterly fought him from the day he entered p tics, was made Governor and Vice-President Platt, and became President through McKinl assassination. Joseph H. Choate, who assa Platt on and off the stump for fifteen years, indorsed by him for Ambassador to the Cour St. James.

A FORGIVING BOSS, TOO

Later Platt, as United States Senator, sav the confirmation of the nomination of White Reid to the same post, though Reid had excori him for years in the New York *Tribune.* (eral Horace Porter, who uttered many a vitri attack on the Senator, was sent as Ambassado France with his approval. Elihu Root, leade the anti-Platt crusade of the early nineties, came McKinley's Secretary of War with Pla approbation, and was Platt's choice for Gover

in 1904, and his successor in the United States Senate.

Though Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., denied and sought to crucify his political creator, Platt forgave him, and they were friends again at least three years before the Senator passed away. J. Sloat Fassett, who repudiated Platt in 1894, was taken back into his arms, restored to leadership in the Chemung-Steuben district, and sent to Congress, where he still holds a seat. The late Charles W. Hackett, right bower of Warner Miller in the fight to oust Platt from the United States Senate in 1881, was made Platt's chairman of the Republican State Committee in 1894. Lemuel Ely Quigg, once lieutenant for Whitelaw Reid, was made a member of Congress and chairman of the New York Republican County Committee by Platt. Hamilton Fish, leader of the anti-Platt coterie in the Assembly in 1890, became Speaker of that House through Platt's influence in 1895. Cornelius N. Bliss, foe of Platt from Half-breed days, owed his elevation to the Secretaryship of the Interior to the "Easy Boss." Frederick S. Gibbs, one of the most rabid anti-Platt rebels in the Assembly of the early nineties, was made National Committeeman for New York by Platt's direction in 1896.

When Platt did these things, when he took his bosom Republicans who had engineered f midable factional movements in opposition to h he was asked why. His reply was:

FOR PEACE, IF HE FOUGHT FOR IT

"There is room in the organization for ev sincere Republican. The door is wide open a will never be closed so long as I am leader. Chauncey M. Depew says: 'I am for peace, i have to fight for it.' "

A striking instance of Senator Platt's tend heartedness developed in 1894, when he was prised of the illness and financial embarrassm of Warner Miller. Miller had supplanted him the United States Senate in 1881. Ever af that he had maintained a virulent warfare u him.

Levi P. Morton had just been elected Govern Platt was absolute boss. Learning that Mi was in the hotel at which he made his home, P sent an envoy to him, offered his sincerest sy pathy, and asked if he could do anything to leviate his physical or monetary troubles. Mil in a fury, retorted: "Say to the one who s you that Tom Platt is the last man in the wo from whom Warner Miller would accept succo

Platt swallowed this rebuke good-naturedly and instructed his friend to return and say: "If Senator Miller declines my proffered sympathy and financial aid, please tell him that if he will promptly suggest what friends he desires appointed to office under the Morton administration, I shall use such influence as I have with the Governor to have his recommendations approved."

Miller resentfully returned answer that he desired no help, politically or otherwise, from Platt. Instead of accepting Platt's overtures of peace, Miller, so soon as he recovered his health, resumed hostilities with what remained of his meager following. He assailed Platt whenever and wherever chance offered. Platt finally concluded that Miller was too much of a "blunderbuss' to wield further influence in the party. So his friends went to work and saw to it that Miller did not even represent his home district in the next State convention.

Apropos of Miller's vindictive conduct, Senator Platt said: "I have been called an amiable cynic. I am glad that I have been leader of the Republican party, for I have been able to do some kind things for Republicans. I never was happier than when exercising the power to do kind things for Republicans who believed in their party, and who

were entitled to be rewarded by that party. Tl who have proved ungrateful and otherwise a badly toward me are far more unhappy over tl acts than I am."

GRIEVED BY INGRATITUDE

I have rarely seen Senator Platt more morti and grieved than on his seventy-sixth birth July 15, 1909. Seated amid a bower of roses the porch of his summer home at Freeport, L he opened scores of telegrams congratulating upon his anniversary.

None came from Theodore Roosevelt, whom had nominated for Governor and Vice-Presid Levi P. Morton, Frank S. Black, and Benja B. Odell, Jr., whom he had made Governors; from Timothy L. Woodruff, whom for tl terms he had backed for Lieutenant-Governor, for Governor in 1904.

Sadly the chief of the Republican organizat observed:

"No; I have heard nothing from Roosev Morton, Black, Odell, nor Woodruff. Roosevel presume, is busy shooting lions in Africa. Th was a day when I would not have to await a n sage from any one of them. They all used to glad to come and see me, especially when I co

do something for them. But that day has gone. It seems to be a part of the political game nowadays to forget one's obligations. I was not brought up in that school.

"I have had my day; others are having theirs. When a man has been active in business and politics more than a half century, it is time he retired. I would have quit many years ago, except that each time I contemplated it, some one hit me. Then I had to wait until the fellow who hit me was tenderly carried to his political grave.

"But I have outlived hundreds of leaders with whom I have fought, beginning with the Fremont campaign of 1856—Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, McKinley, Reed, Hanna, Quay—oh, so many of them have passed to the beyond, and I am still here. And I am going to live a hundred years if I can," added the venerable Senator, stretching his tottering limbs and striving to arise upon them.

AS CAMPAIGN FUND COLLECTOR

Senator Platt had the reputation of collecting more money for political campaign purposes than any Republican leader in history, except, perhaps, Mark A. Hanna. He used to call himself the "Begging Chief." While acting as the pilot of the New York Republican ship, he is believed to have per-

sonally received many hundreds of thousands dollars from business concerns and individu This money was invariably turned over to campaign managers to limber up the machin and for meeting the expenses of the canvass. even his most malevolent enemy ever accu Senator Platt of putting a single dollar of s contributions into his own pocket.

Mindful of the attacks made upon the Sena when Governor Hughes and the Armstrong Le lative Committee were probing insurance sc dals, I one day asked him if he would estim the amount of money he had for the previ quarter of a century raised for campaign p poses. He replied that he could form no accur estimate.

"But," continued the Senator proudly, "th is no man in this world who dare say that I e made a copper out of politics. On the contra I am much the poorer for my activity in it. M of my private income has been dissipated thro my desire that members of my party should elected to office. Not even my bitterest enem and I presume I have had my share of ther has ever accused me of receiving or retainin dirty dollar. Much ado has recently been m about campaign contributions. Some have g

so far as to ascribe to all those who collected or accepted them, not only base motives, but criminal intent.

"I am happy to state, that while a few misguided men have sincerely formed such judgment, my experience has been that those most blatant in proclaiming this belief either seek to avoid contributing or are quickest to rush up the back stairs, close the door, and seize upon the gifts.

"It is absolutely essential to the maintenance of a party organization that it shall have adequate and available funds. Without them, an organization cannot subsist. It is equally true that candidates for office must have money with which to meet the legitimate expenses of the canvass. It naturally devolves upon some one in the organization to make certain that the funds are forthcoming.

"It has so happened, that during my incumbency of the leadership I have been looked to, to provide the bulk of the funds. My limited income would not permit me to keep replenishing the campaign chest out of my own pocket. It was therefore a duty and a pleasure, when party exigencies arose, to solicit donations from men abundantly able to give, and to whose vital interest it was that the party supremacy be sustained.

"For many years there came to me voluntarily, r by request, substantial offerings of financial upport for the regularly nominated candidates. These were immediately turned over to the chairnen, secretaries or treasurers of the State and County committees. The funds were invariably sed for legitimate campaign purposes. They vere employed for the support of headquarters, nass meetings, traveling expenses of speakers, nd the distribution of literature prior to election lay. On that day they were used to pay watchers nd bring voters to the polls. How much money have collected, I shall not attempt to estimate. t came from everywhere. I did not hesitate to ccept it from legal corporations, so long as no bligations, expressed or implied, were exacted. he handling of the money was always left to the State and County committees. My duty was perormed when it was placed in their hands.

"Within the past three years, laws have been nacted whose advocates assert were drawn to ut an end to bribery at the polls. They proeeded upon the theory that wholesale debauchery f the electorate had been perpetrated, and that he Republican and Democratic machines were esponsible for it.

"I have no hesitation in saying that since these

laws became operative, there has been little less corruption of voters than under the old statutes. On the contrary, there has been more evasion of the laws than ever. The size of campaign funds, Presidential, State and city, has diminished but slightly. There has been immeasurably more of perjury among candidates, who, posing as 'reformers,' have sworn that they did not spend a single dollar to secure election.

"The new laws have encouraged candidates to refuse to bear their just share of the financial burdens, and emboldened them, after election, to abjure obligations to those who nominated and elected them. My deliberate judgment is, that under the laws which prevailed prior to 1907, there was far less hypocrisy, subterfuge and chicanery than now."

HOW HE SAVED ROOSEVELT

This reminded me of an incident that happened just prior to the conclusion of the 1898 campaign. Theodore Roosevelt was the Republican candidate for Governor. His Democratic opponent was Augustus Van Wyck. Senator Patrick H. McCarren, a past-master in political cunning, managed Van Wyck's canvass. He, Richard Croker, William F. Sheehan and others had just made a raid on Wall

Street and acquired what was reported to be 1 biggest bundle of cash raised since Colonel Jc R. Fellows, in 1891, distributed over a quarter a million dollars in the rural districts to clinch 1 election of Roswell P. Flower.

Colonel Roosevelt learned of this while on up-State stumping tour. Alarmed, he haster to New York City and burst in upon Chairm Benjamin B. Odell, Jr., of the Republican St Committee.

"Croker and McCarren are trying to buy 1 State!" shouted Roosevelt in tones of ming indignation and fright.

"I know it," replied Odell placidly.

"Well, what are we going to do about it?" quired the Rough Rider in a quivering voice.

"We shall have to raise some more money o selves, or we are licked. Do you know where can get it?" asked Odell.

"No, I don't," answered Roosevelt helpless

"Well, let's go and see the 'old man.' Perha he does," suggested Odell.

The would-be Governor and State chairm hastened to Senator Platt's Fifth Avenue Ho apartments. They apprised the Senator of 1 desperate situation.

"How much money do you need, Ben?" asked Senator Platt of Odell.

"We require $60,000 at once, or we are whipped," was the response.

"You shall have the $60,000," quietly observed the "old man."

"Why, where are you going to get it?" queried Roosevelt in amazement.

Platt took pencil and paper and put down six names, headed by J. Pierpont Morgan.

"Each of these gentlemen will give $10,000. That will make up the $60,000," remarked Platt as he read off their names.

"But I cannot accept contributions from the men you mention. Really, I must decline," protested Roosevelt.

"Who is running this campaign?" demanded Platt impatiently.

"Why, you and Odell are," was the answer.

"Then I'll go downtown and get the $60,000," said Senator Platt, as he called a cab and hurried to the money center.

He brought back the $60,000.

Roosevelt defeated Van Wyck by about 17,000 plurality. But for the fund accumulated by Platt, in the dying hours of the campaign, Croker and

McCarren asserted, Van Wyck would have c
feated Roosevelt handily.

That would, of course, have made Roosevelt
impossibility for Vice-President and Preside

Is it any wonder that "Old Guardsmen"
this day maintain: "Platt saved Roosevelt"?

GOT ROOSEVELT A FEDERAL JOB

One of the first assurances Senator Pl
received that President McKinley had forgott
his offensive opposition to his nomination in 18
and that he desired to recognize him absolutely
the chief of the Empire State organization, w
a request that he indorse Theodore Roosevelt as
candidate for Assistant Secretary of the Nav
Senator Platt was fond of relating to his in
mates the peculiar and somewhat amusing circu
stances under which Roosevelt himself, thou
he had been his political foe since 1882, ca
to him "hat-in-hand," in March of 1897, a
besought him to approve his application for a j
as first deputy to Secretary of the Navy Jo
D. Long.

"The rare tact and sweetness of President M
Kinley," began Senator Platt, "which ultimate
led to the development of relations of the
most cordiality between us, became manif

soon after his first inauguration in March, 1897. One morning, about March 17, returning to my suite in the Arlington Hotel, Washington, from a political conference, I found two gentlemen awaiting me in my parlor. Their names were John Jacob Astor and Theodore Roosevelt.

NEEDED OFFICE TO MAKE BOTH ENDS MEET

"'Jack' was the spokesman. He said that Theodore wanted a Federal office, and Theodore's friends wanted him to have it. Theodore was a man of small means. He had never engaged in business. He had usually held office throughout his mature life. Office-holding was rather essential in the way of supplementing his private resources. They had just seen the President and found his frame of mind to be favorable. But—and here was the significant element of Jack's recital—the President said he would be pleased to appoint Theodore to some office if he could obtain the indorsement of Senator Platt. This was the first intimation I had received as to the probable attitude of the President toward the question of New York Federal appointments and my relation thereto, and it interested me mightily. In fact I could hardly believe it.

"I questioned them closely on this point and

became convinced that the President had really expressed himself. Finally I said:

" 'What office have you in mind?'

"Jack replied:

" 'About the only available place seems to the Assistant Secretaryship of the Navy.'

"My thoughts and expressions ran about li this: I do not particularly like Theodore. He h been a disturbing element in every situation which he has been a party. I have no reason believe the leopard changes his spots. But he not essentially harmful and can probably do le harm to the organization as Assistant Secreta of the Navy than in any other office that can named. Moreover, I will see whether the Pre dent means what he says. So I turned to ı secretary and said:

MADE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF THE NAVY

" 'Albert, write a formal note to the Preside endorsing Theodore Roosevelt for appointment Assistant Secretary of the Navy.'

"The President meant what he said. So thereafter we became fast friends. Only once c he affront me, and then innocently, by urging ı to consent to the nomination of Whitelaw R as Ambassador to the Court of St. James. T

name was not sent to the Senate at that time. Later, when political conditions were different, and when the organization in New York was sufficiently impregnable to be unaffected by the appointment, the nomination was made and confirmed with my approval."

HOME LIFE

My friend, Mrs. McGuirk, once wrote a story entitled, "Home Life of T. C. Platt." At the risk of being charged with purloining what belongs to her, I take the liberty of reproducing some extracts from her very excellent article. Here they are:

His political and domestic life has been more closely allied than is common among politicians, for only an elevator ride of four stories separates Mr. Platt, the cynosure of the famous Fifth Avenue Hotel lobby, from Mr. Platt at home. Down in the lobby, everybody can see Mr. Platt; on the fourth floor only a few people have a chance to see him.

The Platts have never maintained a private house in New York, and for twelve years have made their home at the Fifth Avenue Hotel. A suite of four rooms on the Twenty-fourth Street

corner has been arranged as Mrs. Platt desi
and from their long occupancy the rooms h
come to possess quite as homelike a feeling a
private house could. There is a private hall, s
eral sleeping and dressing rooms, and a cor
parlor, the windows of which are on the level v
the Madison Square Roof Garden. The la
magazines and books are always to be seen on
tables. A few plants and flowers give a touch
summer to the heavy furnishings.

Mr. Platt is a man of numerous business
fairs, which absorb much time and frequently
quire him to be away on short trips. When h
in the city he usually leaves his office in seaso
reach the hotel before six o'clock, and dines v
Mrs. Platt half an hour later in the public din
room. Both he and Mrs. Platt are very de
cratic in their tastes and simple in their mod
living. They frequently have members of t
family or friends at dinner with them. But e
if they were alone, Mr. Platt must have plent
think of, for he knows that downstairs in the h
lobby, men have already begun to collect who w
to see him.

As soon as dinner is over, he makes his nig
appearance in the corridor, when he goes for
mail. This is a feature of the lobby. Ther

no ceremony attending Mr. Platt's appearance. But if he wore a coronet on his head, there would hardly be more individuals waiting for an audience. When his tall form comes in sight, a little stir usually goes through the place. Those who have made appointments reach him first. They settle back into the first convenient corner of the lobby. Mr. Platt doesn't smoke or drink, but never objects to other men exercising the divine right to do as they please. Mr. Platt rarely spends an entire evening in the lobby. He frequently adjourns to the Republican State Committee Headquarters, which are also in the hotel, or, what is more frequent, after an hour in the lobby he takes the elevator to the fourth floor. There is where the convenience of the hotel life comes in, for it is an easy matter to make a second trip to the lobby if necessary.

Upstairs, Mrs. Platt is always waiting for him, and hardly a night passes but one of the sons and his wife or friends in the hotel call. Mr. Platt is decidedly fond of having people of this kind about him. Everybody who has the privilege of admittance to the Platt home circle describes the head of the household as a clever, genial, companionable host. He has read widely, and always keeps up on current topics. So does Mrs. Platt.

Both have traveled extensively and have t faculty of quick observation. Mrs. Platt is brilliant conversationalist herself, while M Platt has a rare wit of his own. He doesn't pr tice story-telling, but in his conversation the h morous streak appears. An evening with t Platts is therefore greatly prized.

MRS. PLATT'S POLITICAL SAGACITY

Few women have such a clear comprehension practical politics as Mrs. Platt, or so wide a kno edge of National and State public affairs. N turally, the atmosphere in the Platts' home times is redolent with politics, and it is fortun for Mrs. Platt that she does like to watch t game. Her husband does not intend that his ho shall be given over to politics entirely, but duri heated campaigns it is difficult to keep it altogether.

But it is as a business woman that Mrs. Pl shines most brightly, and if she had been cast one of the regiment of bread-winners she wo have been able to buy the best country butter a chicken and jam to go with it. However, M Platt's business abilities are not quite lost to world. She is a successful orange grower, w a large plantation in Florida. Not only does

watch the guests about her disposing of fruit from her own grove, but one of the swellest and biggest firms of grocers in New York takes all of her crop they can get for their most exclusive trade.

It was just by chance that this side of Mrs. Platt came to light. The Platts were traveling slowly through Florida in their private car some years ago, when a large orange especially attracted Mrs. Platt's admiration. The location was beautiful, and the scenery more attractive than any other she had ever seen. The grove was a fine one of eighteen acres, and Mrs. Platt became its possessor. From that incident dates her business career, and the investment has netted a good income.

She conducts the grove herself, and directs its daily operations from this end almost as closely as if she were in Florida, where, of course, there is a resident overseer. It is a medium-sized grove, and has made such progress under her care that it is now a show place in the locality. There is a small house on the plantation, and Mrs. Platt occupies it for a month or so, late in the winter, each year, looking after her interests. Some of her sons, with their children, generally visit her, and when Mr. Platt's business permits he con-

trives to join the mistress of the orange grove get a chance at the outdoor life himself.

Mr. Platt has a leaning toward country l Four years ago he bought a farm at Highl Mills, in Orange County, near the foot of the C kills, built a house and prepared to make it summer home. Owing to Mrs. Platt's health, air was found to disagree with her, and sev years ago they were compelled to abandon Ri Farm, and it has since been sold. Now the Pl move down to the Oriental Hotel, at Manhat Beach, as soon as the weather becomes warm, Mr. Platt continues to go to the city every c and is at his task summer and winter by 1 o'clock, in the president's room of the Uni States Express Company.

A CAMERA EXPERT

Everybody knows that Mrs. Platt is an amat photographer, although she has been using camera so long that she slipped out of the amat class some time ago. She has seen many la through the finder of a "kodak" that has alw accompanied her. The Platts have trave through the West and visited Alaska and Pacific coast. The South is also familiar to th

as Mr. Platt has large interests in Tennessee and Alabama.

Mrs. Platt has also been through Europe, to South America, and even to Patagonia. Owing to a stormy passage through the Straits of Magellan, they were compelled to land in Patagonia, and Mrs. Platt's only regret now is that she didn't have a camera with her then. However, her collection of photographs is very large and varied.

THE BUSINESS MAN

It was not in politics alone that Senator Platt shed luster. He was very potent in the financial world, and scored his great triumph there in building up the United States Express Company from a struggling infant to a great, strong and influential transportation line. The Senator had planned to prepare for these memoirs a brief history of the wonderful development of this corporation under his administration. Death intervened before he could complete it. I am indebted to his son, Edward T. Platt, and to the Senator's secretary, Mr. Merry, for the following description of how he created a giant from a mere pigmy:

RESUSCITATION OF THE UNITED STATES EXPRESS

Communication between the Atlantic seabo: of the United States and the territory west of Alleghany Mountains at a very early date : lowed two main channels, one to the south : one to the north. The northern route was thro the level districts of the Hudson River, Moha Valley and along the shores of the Great Lak through the levels of Indiana and Illinois, : across the Mississippi River, into the prairies Iowa. The southern route was compelled to s its outlet over the mountains, reaching finally Ohio River at Pittsburg, and from there on av ing itself of the more level regions of the West States.

The stream of emigrants and explorers, on f and on horseback, who passed over these ro was succeeded in time by the cumbrous frei wagons of the pioneers, and they in time were : ceeded by rude rafts and flatboats, and ultima by steamboats on the Ohio River, and finally of these were succeeded by railroads. Pass rapidly over the intervening time, these two ro finally developed two of the largest and n prominent express companies of the present : It was in the nature of things that the railro

occupying these two main lines of travel should ultimately grow into two very large and strongly unified and consolidated systems, one for each route. The express companies alluded to had therefore the advantage of a unity of interests from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River. While these northern and southern routes were developing and extending their lines, there was gradually growing between them a series of intermediate lines. Prominent among these lines was the Erie Railroad, and following that came the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, originally a local New Jersey road, afterward reaching the coal mines of Pennsylvania, and finally extending through to Lake Erie. These lines having been developed since the first two routes named, were also occupied by the two systems first mentioned, when the necessity for an express development arose. In the lapse of time, however, this condition of affairs was unacceptable, and in the year 1854 the United States Express Company came into existence as a result of the demands of the Erie Railroad for an express company devoted to its interests.

The United States Express Company was originally formed by the turning over to it of contracts and rights formerly enjoyed by another

express company on the Erie Railroad and u
some connections thereof. For many years
United States Express Company was made
of the lines of the older companies, which t
were compelled to relinquish for various reas
At the beginning of its existence, and for s
time afterward, the mileage of the United St
Express Company did not exceed 3,000 miles,
this was only partly railroad mileage, the o
part being mileage on the northern lakes. H
ever, by the year 1860 this mileage had incre
to 3,948 miles of railroad; 990 miles of w
lines; and 672 miles of stage lines—altoge
5,610 miles. As an illustration of the size of
railroads, it may be mentioned that what is kn
as the Rock Island System, which covers to-
about 15,000 miles, was at that time known as
Chicago and Rock Island Railroad, and was
miles long. The Great Lake Shore System of
day was at that time about 500 miles in ext

HOW THE INFANT GREW

During all these years and up to the time t
Thomas C. Platt was elected president, the c
pany had existed by sufferance of the two g
systems heretofore alluded to.

Mr. Platt was elected a director and secret

of the company on August 1, 1879, and in 1880 was elected president. From that time on a new era dawned for the United States Express Company. While Senator Platt had a very wholesome regard for the strength of his progenitors and active rivals, he was merely mastering the situation and preparing himself for the future. At the time of Mr. Platt's accession to office, the mileage of the company had grown from 5,610 miles to about 14,000 miles. This was indeed a fine kingdom to occupy. No occasion arose, however, to display Mr. Platt's business sagacity and his unflinching determination to protect the interests of his company until it was forced by the extreme demands of the Erie Railroad to leave that line. It was confidently expected, as a consequence of this disaster, that the United States Express Company would rapidly disintegrate, because it had no means whatever of reaching Buffalo, the northern routes or outlets to the West being occupied by the two great companies first referred to: the middle outlet, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, being occupied by the Westcott Express Company.

Much to the consternation of the then existing management of the Erie Railroad, which believed that it had forced the United States Express Com-

any into a corner from which it could not escape xcept by the payment of a most exorbitant sum f money, Senator Platt, in the quietest manner ossible, secured the lines of the Delaware, Lacka-'anna and Western Railroad Company, thus ex-ricating his company from a position which ıreatened its existence and placing it in a vastly tronger position than it had previously occupied.

Later, Senator Platt showed his business insight nd his ability of quick and accurate judgment y the acquisition of the express facilities of the nes of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway. It was onfidently believed, and, in fact, the most boast-ul assertions were made, that the Baltimore and)hio must inevitably fall into the hands of one f the older companies occupying the southern ines, it being considered merely a question of ime when that company would again operate the ines of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway.

PROTECTED HIS OWN

Senator Platt, seeing the vast value of these ines to his own company, however, pursued with liligence and sagacity negotiations which led to heir acquisition by the United States Express)ompany in the year 1887. These two occurrences f such vast importance dispelled the idea that

the United States Express Company any longer based its existence upon the sufferance of its rivals. And while it, under Senator Platt's guidance, always maintained reasonable and friendly business relations with its competitors, and strove to secure and retain their respect, it, on the other hand, pursued an unflinching policy of protection to its own interests and the expansion of its own lines.

In the early eighties, when the Rock Island System had expanded so much that its lines were reaching toward the Rocky Mountains, the demand was made that the United States Express Company should not occupy any part of the Rock Island System west of the Missouri River. Senator Platt, however, unhesitatingly availed himself of the desire of the Rock Island Company that but one express company should operate its lines, and consequently followed the Rock Island through to the Rocky Mountains at Denver and occupied all of its subsequent extensions. As a consequence of this far-sighted policy, this year (1910) the United States Express Company will not only occupy the Rock Island, but the St. Louis and San Francisco systems as well, thus bringing them under one control and adding a stretch of about 10,000 miles to its present territory.

THE PIGMY BECOMES A GIANT

If Senator Platt was not conspicuous for his modesty and silence, but for the opposite qualities, he would undoubtedly enjoy more fame, not as a politician, nor as a law-maker, but as a business man, as a founder, as a promoter and as a projector of great business enterprises. His abilities in that direction, however, are known only to his most intimate friends, and they recognized his remarkable powers of judgment and his intuitive faculty of deciding upon the best thing at the best time.

There have been but three presidents of the United States Express Compny. While both of the predecessors of Senator Platt were most honorable and estimable gentlemen in every sense of the word, it may be said without fear of contradiction that had their successor been a man of the same stamp, the United States Express Company, had it not been put out of existence, would have remained as it always had been, a mere creature of sufferance. Under Platt's direction the company has grown in mileage from about 14,000 to approximately 30,000 miles, or considerably more than doubled itself.

The influence of President Platt, however, upon

the United States Express Company has been so strong and the impress of his actions so durable that even a casual inspection of the history of the company suffices to show that the present position of the company is due to the initial ability and fidelity of the gentleman who is the subject of this work.

LOUIS J. LANG.

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